

Understanding Gentrification and its Implications for a Revitalized St. Henri

Antonino Scozzari

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ABSTRACT

Understanding Gentrification and its Implications for a Revitalized St. Henri

Antonino Scozzari

The success of neighbourhood revitalization initiatives ultimately depends on an understanding of the concerns and aspirations of resident populations and the resources available to them. The following thesis serves to advance an ethnographic approach to understanding the impacts of one form of revitalization namely, gentrification. Although often associated with negative outcomes, this study shows how gentrification may be influenced to mitigate such potential consequences. First, a review of the literature provides a better understanding of gentrification, its various forms and the characteristics of those initiating the process and their motivations for doing so. This is followed by a review of the main benefits and disadvantages of gentrification. Finally, the related literature serves to outline some of the policy orientations, which have evolved through time. The second component in this thesis centres on a specific neighbourhood study in Montreal's St. Henri district and its potential for a remediated form of revitalization. Since most of the literature has sought to study the displaced or the gentrifiers, this study uses information derived from personal interviews to evaluate the impacts of changes brought about by gentrification on the remaining residents, and their perceptions of the spatial and social relationships they have within their local environment. The thesis concludes with a consideration of how an assessment of the weaknesses and available resources in the community may inform progressive, local policies, which respect the principles of sustainability and inclusiveness and which may be employed in future regeneration efforts.

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DEDICATION

To my wife and children

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INTRODUCTION

Much has been written and reported regarding gentrification and the positive or negative consequences it exerts as a process of urban revitalization. Despite the numerous attempts to adequately define gentrification, the literature often falls short of an all encompassing parameter, as the process is constantly evolving and presents various exceptions to previously established definitions. Thus, it is possible to observe the process in its many manifestations ranging from urban transformations which fit traditional definitions, to subtle changes that slowly alter the physical and perhaps social make-up of a neighbourhood.

In an effort to properly understand the transformations occurring in a neighbourhood, it is important to first understand the contexts in which they are taking place. The main goal of this thesis therefore, is to gain an understanding of the process of gentrification from the available literature and to apply this information to better understand changes which have taken place in the context of St. Henri (a community bordering Montreal's downtown core). The inclusion of a sample study of longstanding residents was instrumental in light of the fact that gentrification should not simply be understood as it is perceived by gentrifiers or the displaced, but rather requires a method of inquiry that has been relatively absent namely, a study of the perceptions of those who have experienced both the positive and negative implications of the process and who continue to reside in a neighbourhood. Thus, in achieving a comparison of what is found in the literature versus the social, economic and physical changes experienced by longstanding residents, it was possible to gain an ethnographic perspective on how gentrification has touched the lives of residents, whether this is consistent with the

literature, what factors should be considered in analyzing the changes in this community, and what may be done to spread the benefits of such change while mitigating its negative consequences.

For the purpose of this thesis, the research focused solely on St. Henri and therefore included the territory between Atwater Avenue in the east, Autoroute 15 in the west, the Ville-Marie Expressway in the north and the Lachine Canal in the South. The motivation to study this particular area was spurred on by media reports and demonstrations responding to the physical, social and economic changes that have been occurring in St. Henri. Moreover, St. Henri has been chosen as an area for inquiry in light of the recognition of the possible debilitating effects of the traditional gentrification process. Since St. Henri has been experiencing much change as a result of ongoing development, its study is clearly timely and worthwhile.

Prior to and as a result of the reopening of the Lachine Canal in 2002 (the date before which all interviewees were already residing in St. Henri), select areas in St. Henri and along its waterfront were already becoming the focus of real-estate speculation. The negative impacts of such a process have been made evident for the disadvantaged among the resident populations of many urban centres across the globe. Indicators in the demographic profile of St. Henri demonstrate that it is among the most disadvantaged districts within the City of Montreal. Thus, its fragility makes it prone to the negative impacts of gentrification, which has a tendency to be based on market principles and as a result makes St. Henri a prime candidate for alternative revitalization measures.

The structure of this thesis is essentially based on a review of the key works regarding gentrification, a discussion of the methodology employed for the study, the

presentation of findings based on fieldwork in St. Henri concerning gentrification and its impact on longstanding residents and finally a general conclusion. The literature review will discuss the meaning and types of changes that occur as a result of gentrification, by whom these changes are being initiated (i.e. the gentrifiers), what are the forces driving such change, what are the impacts of any changes and what may be done to usher change in a manner that best serves all residents. Following the proceeding discussion on methodology, the third major component of this thesis involves the presentation of data and an analysis of statistics and commentaries stemming from a sample study of thirty-one St. Henri residents, as well as an interview with the Southwest borough mayor's attaché. The conclusion links the findings of both the literature and the sample study in an effort to present possible policy and future research orientations as they apply to the community of St. Henri.

1. **LITERATURE REVIEW**

A review of the literature surrounding gentrification reveals a number of themes that have evolved over several decades. These include: perspectives regarding the definition and application of the term gentrification, the reasons explaining its development, the positive and negative impacts of its emergence in city centres, and finally the possible policy orientations which stem from current and past gentrification research. An analysis of the available literature may therefore be employed in any research, which is directed toward a better understanding of the potential for a remediated process of gentrification. Utilizing both public and private resources is essentially the foundation of any effort to achieve a comprehensive and long-lasting revitalization plan for inner-city areas. As a result, this literature review serves to better understand this objective by outlining: the process of gentrification (with its positive and negative implications); the necessary adaptations to address the negative impacts of gentrification based on past observations (i.e. initiating solutions and alternatives to neighbourhood plans); and finally how these adaptive measures as well as the positive results of gentrification, may best serve communities in an effort to augment the benefits of revitalization in contemporary inner-city neighbourhoods in need of attention.

1.1 **Gentrification**

1.11 *Defining Gentrification*

Since the 1960s, gentrification has emerged as a term often employed synonymously with urban revitalization. The term gentrification was first used by the urban geographer Ruth Glass in 1964. It was a term used to refer to the newly observed habit of upper-middle class households purchasing properties in the deprived East End of

London, (Glass, 1964). Some of the key characteristics of gentrification which were revealed from studies throughout the 1970s and 1980s included: an attraction to neighbourhoods close to the central business district, a preference for older and architecturally distinct housing and proximity to a variety of amenities (Filion, 1991). Ley (1986) adds that gentrification refers to a change in household social status, which is independent of the housing stock and which, may be either renovated or redeveloped units. Others such as Bunting (1987) express similar observations regarding the social status of incoming residents, stating that:

"The term gentrification, or alternatives, such as whitepainting, brownstoning, and revitalization, are all used to describe the process whereby inner-city housing is upgraded for occupancy by residents of considerably higher socioeconomic status than the population being displaced" p. 210.

Thus there appears to be an emphasis on a changing social class within neighbourhoods experiencing such revitalization. According to Franzen (2005) the ownership change brought about through gentrification also implies a change in a neighbourhood's daytime population and nighttime visitors, perhaps due to increased investment and the allurements of new and established amenities.

In their earlier research Hamnett and Williams (1980) emphasize the impending cultural changes in their definition of gentrification:

"Gentrification is simultaneously a physical, social, and cultural process. It commonly involves the physical renovation of houses many of which were previously in the privately rented sector, up to the standards required by the new owner-occupying middle-class residents who bring with them a distinctive lifestyle and set of tastes...gentrification is a reversal of this earlier process of abandonment." p. 471

As stated above, the inclusion of a 'new middle class' is often front and centre in most definitions of gentrification. However, the new middle class is itself very diverse. Ley (1996) has emphasized that gentrification is a result of lifestyle changes among the professional middle classes which are attracted to the cultural attributes of the city as well as its occupational influences. The accent on a professional middle class with distinctive

lifestyle and consumptive needs is also a view presented by Mills (1988) and Zukin (1987). However, Smith (1987) declares that the clearest social indicator of gentrification is the high educational attainment of those moving into the inner-city. Smith's view points to a group that may not be financially homogeneous, but which shares similar academic credentials. Others such as Goldthorpe (1995) have argued that his version of the new middle-class (i.e. the service class) is essentially composed of those within the professional-managerial class. Although their occupations may be diverse they share a common relationship with their employer (i.e. loyalty and service in exchange for compensation not only for work done, but other compromises of security, pensions, advancement, etc). Still others argue that the new middle-class cannot be understood without examining the relationship of inequitable gender or racial barriers to employment opportunities (i.e. with regard to women and visible minorities) and consequently class formation (Butler and Savage (eds), 1995). Thus, since the new middle class is so diverse the type of revitalization activity it engages in may also vary considerably as will be discussed later under '*Types of Gentrification*'. Consequently, one discovers that defining the new middle class is not an easy task as it may consist of individuals with varying incomes and tastes. Nevertheless what does seem apparent in the literature is that this new middle-class associated with gentrification in the inner-city often shares a common liberal political expression. This may sit in stark contrast to other middle class groups (i.e. those in the suburbs) and it may also include a shared set of goals regarding the use of its social capital in its particular neighbourhood context (Ley, 1994).

Despite efforts to adequately define gentrification, Rose (1984) and Beauregard (1986) point to the difficulty in defining the concept. They have viewed the term as:

“...a ‘chaotic concept’ connoting many diverse events and processes [that] have been aggregated under a single (ideological) label and have been assumed to require a single causal explanation” (Beauregard, 1986: 40).

Paralleling these conclusions, Brown and Wyly (2000) discuss the multi-layered nature of gentrification:

“Most often, gentrification refers to a process labeled ‘yuppification’-i.e. the metamorphosis of deprived inner-city neighbourhoods into new prestigious residential and consumption areas taken up by a new class of highly skilled and highly paid residents, typically business service professionals living in small-sized non-familial households-that brings displacement of the neighbourhood’s initial population.” (As quoted in: Van Crielingen and Decroly, 2002: 2452)

They add however, that in many cases the concept involves groups which are not necessarily elite, thus adding further difficulty to clearly defining gentrification in terms of the actions of a particular economic class.

Regarding the issue of displacement (which as above is often mentioned in definitions of gentrification), Robinson (1995) argues that much of this is the result of increases in rents and property values caused by the influx of upper and middle-class residents into low-income areas. This further emphasizes the importance of the socioeconomic status of new residents. Moreover, it is important to note that several researchers conclude that displacement has been exacerbated by the increased presence of service professionals in city centres stemming from a restructuring of the global economy. Hamnett (2003) explains gentrification in similar terms by stating:

“...gentrification is the social and spatial manifestation of the transition from an industrial society to a post-industrial urban economy based on financial, business and creative services, with associated changes in the nature and location of work, in occupational class structure, earnings and incomes, lifestyles and the structure of the housing market.” p.2402

In light of the above, locating in the city centre is an imperative for service related businesses and in turn it has influenced the urban housing markets and to some extent the incidence of displacement (Bailey and Robertson, 1997). The correlation of displacement to gentrification however, is an issue of debate and one which will be revisited later.

Based on the literature, the absence of a clear and all encompassing definition of gentrification is evident. However, Freeman (2005) outlines some of the common dimensions which tend to reappear among various definitions. These include the characteristics typically associated with areas that have a potential for gentrification such as: neighbourhood location within the city centre, a population of generally low-income households and areas which have experienced disinvestment.

Another common denominator in much of the available literature (Zukin, 1982; Ley, 1996, 2003; Podmore, 1998) includes an initial stage in the process of gentrification, which is often marked by a growth in cultural capital (i.e. artists). Artists tend to serve as intermediaries in popularizing a particular lifestyle resulting in a growing demand for residential properties. They may be viewed as part of a larger group of *marginal gentrifiers* which will be discussed in subsequent sections and which include in addition to artists: mono-parental families, women and well educated individuals with modest financial means. In reference to artists as a pioneering force, Ley (1996) states: "*The urban artist is commonly the expeditionary force for inner-city gentrifiers, pacifying new frontiers ahead of the settlement of more mainstream residents*" (p.191). Thus, most definitions also include a corresponding second phase which consists of an influx of buyers with significant financial means (who although not artists are drawn to the environments pioneered by them), and finally a corresponding increase in neighbourhood investment which includes an expanding commercial sector and successive waves of gentrifiers, as characteristics of the developing gentrification process.

1.12 Who are the 'Gentrifiers'?

Although the identity of gentrifiers or the 'new middle class' has already been discussed in an effort to define the concept of gentrification, a review of relevant literature indicates that gentifiers are somewhat more diverse than what has been conceptualized in earlier studies of urban areas (Freeman, 2006). However, research cited by Filion (1991), describes many of the socioeconomic characteristics of gentrifiers.

They are typically described as:

"...relatively young, employed in white-collar occupations, often as professionals and managers, and very well educated...research revealed that gentrifying households have few or no children and that gentrifiers earn more than incumbent residents...gentrifiers hold different values from mainstream middle-class members, most of whom still opt for suburban residences. Gentrifiers make greater use of recreational and cultural activities and exhibit 'distinctive' consumption tastes which are characterized by a dislike of mass-produced goods and a penchant for historic objects and buildings...their preference for central areas often results from an earlier residential experience of inner-city neighbourhoods" p.554

Concurrently, in an early study of social change in London, Hamnett and Williams (1980) also found many gentrifiers to be engaged in professional and managerial occupations with a minority being self-employed or junior professionals many of whom were working in education, research, or the performing arts. Filion's (1991) study parallels much of the above. He also found that many of the households were in the youthful or early stages of life with children under five years of age, and that most gentrifiers originated from the inner-city itself rather than being drawn from the suburbs.

Despite many of these generalizations, Redfern (2003) suggests that gentrifiers *"should not be seen as a special 'other' class which gentrifies because it has to, but rather because it has the means to"* p.2354. Warde (1991) supports the argument that the new middle class moving into the inner-city is not a homogeneous one, when he states:

"The material position of professional, scientific, and technical workers...and their cultural practices are rather less closely linked together than for many other social classes...generally members of the salariat have more scope and freedom regarding their cultural practices for a number of reasons" p. 227.

Consequently, the class distinction between new and indigenous residents is not as pronounced as it is presented in much of the literature. Nevertheless according to a Montreal study by Rose (2004), some gentrifiers associated with an *infill* development did tend to exhibit common divisive behaviour which was evident in their refusal to participate in community-based negotiations, the sharing of resources among diverse groups and a 'NIMBY' (not in my backyard) attitude toward those perceived as 'undesirable'. According to Rose (2004) such behaviours may be attributed to the higher incomes of gentrifiers, and the arrival of this neo-liberal middle class into lower-income areas reflecting a societal trend toward individualism and economic and cultural insecurity.

In light of these contrasting views, it is important to include other gentrifiers who do not fit a new middle class definition or those who lack the necessary means to gentrify according to the commonly understood sense of the term. In her study of modest upgrading in Kitchener, Ontario Bunting (1987) provides evidence which points to neither of the two assumptions (i.e. that gentrifiers are typically part of the new middle class or that they possess the financial resources to renovate), but rather to a group of gentrifiers with modest means who nevertheless make adequate adjustments to their dwellings.

Apart from this gentrifying group, the literature describes another group of gentrifiers not commonly the focus of gentrification studies namely, inner-city family gentrifiers (Karsten, 2003). One reason for the lack of attention to family gentrifiers is the typically smaller households that are found in gentrified areas. Hence these smaller households are often lost among the dual income households where children are absent.

The role played by mono-parental families is also of importance particularly in the earliest stages of gentrification, as inner-city areas are among the few affordable places in close proximity to employment and services for families living on a single income. In a related reference to the above Bondi (1999) states:

"Others have shown that poor women, including many lone mothers and many lone elderly women, are disproportionately concentrated in deprived inner-urban neighbourhoods" p.262.

As explained by Karsten (2003), although there is less of a discussion regarding the growing number of gentrifiers with children, they are a category that is slowly changing the social fabric of urban centres.

In addition to the role of mono-parental families in the early stages of gentrification, much of the proceeding growth in the number of families may be understood by placing gentrification in a feminist context. First, it is important to recognize that dual income families have a higher capacity to buy in the new housing markets of the central city. Secondly, the combination of external and domestic work implies a need to be close to the workplace particularly for those with demanding jobs which must be balanced with numerous household responsibilities (Karsten, 2003; Bondi, 1999; Butler and Hamnett, 1993). Warde (1991) has suggested that the common thread in all manifestations of gentrification is that they are all principally driven by career-oriented women, whether they are part of a high income dual-career household associated with inflated real-estate spurred by gentrification, or in 'non-traditional' households such as the mono-parental families headed by women mentioned earlier. Thus, the literature further indicates that defining gentrifiers as in the case with the concept of gentrification is not a simple task, but depending on varying contexts can involve both subtle and obvious differences in their characteristics.

1.13 Types and Intensity of Gentrification

In addition to defining gentrification and identifying gentrifiers, the literature has much to say with regard to classifying the types of gentrification which occur in the city centre. It is important to first place gentrification in a chronological context. Research by Filion (1991) as well as others cited earlier (Zukin, 1982; Ley, 1996, 2003; Podmore, 1998) indicates that the early stages of the gentrification process begins with the efforts of well-educated but low-to moderate-income individuals often referred to as marginal gentrifiers (e.g. artists), which leads to the attraction of career-oriented young adults and finally to the settlement of risk-adverse professionals and managers. Ley (2003) adds his perspective on the successive stages of gentrification:

“Typically, social and cultural professionals and pre-professionals are early successors to artists, including such cultural producers as intellectuals and students, journalists and other media workers, and educators, to be followed by professionals with greater economic capital such as lawyers and medical practitioners, and finally by business people and capitalists.” p.2540

As a result, it may be expected that varied revitalization activities have occurred in inner-city areas at each stage and have been sustained despite generalizations found in some literature.

In both Halifax and Kitchener, Ontario Millward and Davis (1986) and Bunting (1987) respectively, found renovation activity among residents that was not typically documented. In a Halifax North End case study, Millward and Davis (1986) found that high renovation activity was evident in areas not favorable to gentrification (i.e. few amenities, lacking distinctive housing design, far from areas of high social status, presence of public housing projects, and low housing values). Since much of the renovations were implemented by long-term occupants and mobility is often expressed as a key characteristic of the gentrification process, it was concluded that these renovations

were more a result of '*incumbent upgrading*' rather than gentrification (Millward and Davis, 1986). Consequently, this provides an alternative means of revitalization in city centres without the assumed negative impacts of gentrification (e.g. displacement). In Kitchener as with Halifax, Bunting (1987) found that inner-city census tracts undergoing renovation produced renovations that were often internal or subtle. As a result, this may be referred to as '*invisible upgrading*' since evidence of revitalization activity is not obvious or readily observed. These areas were also found to exhibit demographic characteristics that deviated from those presented in the typical definitions of gentrification. Findings from Bunting's (1987) study indicated a demographic profile that was associated with a degree of familial focus that is often found in suburban residences (i.e. a majority having children under 16 years of age, 80 per cent were married, the majority of households having three to four persons, and many households having traditional housewives) p. 217. These two cases indicate that revitalization must be placed in the context of city size or the economic base of the Central Business District (CBD), as many smaller sized cities do not experience the same changes stemming from a definite form of 'gentrification' or its disadvantages.

It is therefore important to note that alternative forms of what may be termed gentrification are receiving more attention in the literature. In a study of Montreal and Brussels, Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003) have outlined four distinct processes of revitalization found in cities ranging from medium to small in size. These include: *gentrification in the strict sense* and often referred to in the literature; *marginal gentrification* (as discussed earlier), which refers to neighbourhood change associated with middle-class households which are well educated, but are modestly earning

professionals seeking a place in the inner-city as renters or owners of reasonably priced units; *upgrading* of long-established 'bourgeois' neighbourhoods inhabited by middle-to-upper-class households and where improvements made to the dwellings are minor and made to adapt to the newcomer's requirements; and finally *incumbent upgrading* which refers to a neighbourhood process where reinvestment is achieved by long-term residents (often with a moderate income), who want to improve their dwelling and which results in minimal population change. In light of the above, it is evident that care must be exercised in assessing revitalization efforts as many do not correspond to the typical set of activities associated with gentrification, but which are nevertheless effective initiatives in curbing the decline of urban residential areas.

1.2 Reasons Explaining Gentrification

1.21 Demand versus Supply

Two key and contending explanations for gentrification are demand and supply. Ley (1981, 1996) and others (see Hamnett, 2003) argue that gentrification stems from the changing industrial structure of cities from manufacturing to service industries (post-industrialism) and the resulting change in the occupational class structure from one based on a manual working class to one based on white-collar professional, managerial, financial, cultural and service industry occupations. Moreover, it is argued that as a result of these changes in class composition, there have also been the accompanying changes in the cultural orientation and preferences of this new middle class and hence new consumptive behaviors. What seems to have occurred from this was a 'back-to-the-city' movement of particular social groups from the suburbs to the inner city (Berry, 1980).

Finally, these factors coupled with changing gender relations and increasing numbers of dual income households (which as mentioned earlier benefit from bringing the workplace closer to home) are the driving forces influencing an increasing demand and preference for inner-city residences and related amenities.

Ley (1986) focused on several other possible factors for the increasing demand of inner-city dwellings. His interpretation essentially rests on the socioeconomic and socio-demographic evolution of the middle-class since the 1950s. First, demographic change caused by the baby-boom created a housing demand surge forcing first-time homebuyers into an unfamiliar inner-city market. Demographic change also meant change associated with a particular life stage in proceeding decades (i.e. 1980s-present) and a change in the orientation of desired life goals (i.e. postponement of marriage and child bearing and a greater focus on career development) and therefore, less of a need for space (Ley, 1980). Secondly, housing market dynamics were a key factor. As housing stock in the suburbs inflated in price through the 1970s and as mortgage rates added to affordability problems, many households opted for their second choice (i.e. new smaller and cheaper central city apartments or renovated housing in the inner-city) thus driving up demand for these alternatives (Ley, 1986). Finally, urban amenity factors were also important determinants of the increasing demand for inner-city residency since participation in communities of greater density and which are socially diverse is typically a clear objective of many gentrifiers (Allen, 1980). In summary, aesthetically pleasing landscapes (i.e. environmental amenities), concentrated artistic and recreational activities (i.e. cultural amenities), architectural qualities, historical significance, and evident economic restructuring have served to strengthen an attraction to the inner-city areas.

As a complementary explanation, Hudson (1980) uses an ecological approach (*The Chicago School*), which has its roots in biology to explain the emergence of the gentrification process. In essence gentrification is seen from an invasion-succession perspective and has relevance to Ley's demand thesis. Hudson (1980) explains that the concept focuses on the arrival of new populations into an undisturbed area or one which is already occupied. As with the intervening variables in biology, factors such as demographics (age, education, occupation and race) can stimulate the process of invasion-succession. To exemplify this Hudson (1980) suggests that building up a population in a particular area may trigger migration. Thus a growing concentration of service professionals in an inner-city area, which has seen a decline in the industrial base and a loss of residents employed by it, may be the impetus to successive waves of new residents with similar socioeconomic characteristics into the inner-city. Hudson (1980) points to evidence from changing inner-cities, which shows that the growth of lower-income groups may be stopped or reversed; middle-class groups may reclaim deteriorated, but formerly middle-class areas; and middle-class groups may take over traditionally lower-income areas. Once a new population settles in, the process of altering a site begins. In the case of inner-city neighbourhood changes, Hudson (1980) also claims that the process of replacement can manifest itself in the restoration and renovation of housing units, lowered densities, and the growth of new commercial and service functions. In relation to the ecological approach's contribution to a better understanding of gentrification, it may be useful to conclude with Warde's (1991) four tier definition of gentrification:

"It is a process of resettlement and social concentration, a process of displacement of one group of residents with another of higher status, entailing new patterns of social segregation. It is a transformation in the built environment, via building work that exhibits some common distinctive, aesthetic features and

the emergence of certain types of local service provision. It is a gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least shared, class-related, consumer preference. It is an economic reordering of property values, a commercial opportunity for the construction industry, and generally, an extension of the system of private ownership of domestic property” p. 225.

On the supply side, Smith (1996) argues that the driving force behind gentrification is not the new middle class, but the growing gap between property values and land values in the inner-city. Smith believes that this opened a ‘rent gap’ (i.e. between the potential value of land and the existing use value). This gap grew until it was most profitable for developers to return to the city and realize the maximum value of the land through renovation (Smith, 1996). Perhaps this was best evidenced in the zoning of SoHo in Lower Manhattan as an ‘artist’s district’ in the early 1970s. Although it may have been perceived as a victory for preservationists, Zukin (1982a) explains that it actually widened the loft market and provided a means for capital accumulation for new small-scale developers. Another example in support of Smith’s perspective can be seen in a New Orleans’ case study and what Gotham (2005) termed ‘tourism gentrification’. Like Smith, Gotham (2005) sees gentrification as a return of capital and not people to the city-centre. Backed by state policy, gentrification was encouraged for the sake of developing tourism and has thus taken the form of global investment in New Orleans, as it is slowly a corporative process. Thus as a consequence of this, there has been less opportunity for low and modest income earners to find housing in the inner-core, a place which helps many in deprived situations to access needed services and employment due to its proximity to public transportation.

1.22 Attraction to the City Centre

There are numerous reasons which may be used to explain why gentrification takes place. However, it is imperative that any analysis of the available literature focus on the more obvious attractions which draw gentrifiers and stimulate revitalization to some degree. Tallon and Bromley (2004) outline many motivating factors for inner-city residency. First, there are economic motivations since such moves are a good capital investment. Secondly, there is much cultural infrastructure (museums, theatres, etc.) which is tied to gentrified neighbourhoods as they do much to address the demands of the service class. Thirdly, there is the attraction of what is termed 'habitus' for those wishing to live in areas with people similar to themselves. Researchers such as Phe and Wakely (2000) have replaced a focus on the access and space tradeoff (i.e. city versus suburbs) in determining residential location, with instead the importance of status and the social acceptability of a dwelling. It is evident from the literature on gentrified neighbourhoods that a satisfactory balance of both factors is possible. Fourth, there is the attraction of jobs and a favorable employment market especially in the growing service sector. Fifth, gentrifiers are attracted to the central city in light of its architectural attributes as many Victorian and Edwardian homes from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century exhibit features and large areas of space, which are rarely found outside of the older city districts. Finally, it is important to acknowledge the more common yet attractive aspects that motivate people to move to the inner city. These include: a range of leisure and entertainment options, opportunities for social interactions, and the absence of long commutes to work.

1.23 The Meaning of Place: Media and Political Influence

In addition to the preceding pull factors for inner-city gentrification, external factors such as media portrayals and political interventions play key roles in establishing meaning for particular places. In a London-based study by Martin (2005) regarding the meaning of place in Notting Hill, (spurred by its depiction in the film *'Notting Hill'*), a variance was found to exist in the value people held toward their neighbourhood and its focal points. For the working-class residents, it was not the character of the famous Portobello Road and the market or the manner in which the area was projected through the film that was of essence, but rather its functional value as a suitable place to shop and meet friends. Moreover, their greatest concerns centred instead on issues such as; crime, drugs, overcrowding, and the area's neglect by the local authority. However, for the middle-class residents the character of the road and market were of great value in themselves, and they seemed occupied with the media portrayal of their neighbourhood in the film. Thus, for a segment of the population, the area's reputation as a result of the film was an important contributor to the meaning of place and their attraction to it.

A similar perspective on the impact of media-generated ideals in creating a sense of place, has been expressed by Podmore (1998) in her analysis of what she calls the 'cultural construction' of the 'loft' and the socio-spatial practices involved in its (re)production in Montreal. Related to the initial work on loft living by Zukin (1982), Podmore's contention is that the attention accorded to loft living by the media (e.g. magazines, films, etc.) and its effort to translate a concept from New York (Soho) into a Montreal (Old Port) context makes it a universal revitalization strategy and not simply an imitation. Thus, the picture portrayed by the media has contributed to making the loft a

desirable living space. As explained in Podmore's analysis, artists have found a sense of place in that they use the loft as an authentic space to confirm their creative identity (i.e. the studio habitus) and tenants use their space as homes constructed to establish an alternative inner-city middle-class identity/habitus.

Another pull factor for inner-city gentrification centres on the level of political intervention particularly at the local level and its capacity to effectively promote revitalization. Examples of revitalization initiatives in various metropolitan areas demonstrate the negative or positive influence exerted by government in comprehensive revitalization efforts (i.e. social and physical). In Washington, Montreal, Vancouver and San Francisco, governments have been able to facilitate a return to the central city and revitalization through ideological adjustments and compromise (see: Swope, 2004; Fontan et al, 2004; Hutton, 2004; and Robinson, 1995). Through a study of Vancouver's development policy Hutton (2004) helps clarify the implications of this by stating:

"In practice, this has meant accommodating the profit-seeking imperatives of capital (including both local and foreign development interests) and facilitating the emergence of ascendant social contingents, but has also incorporated the insertion of broader public values and needs, including social housing and public amenity." p. 1956

In addition to policy compromises such as these, ideological adjustment and compromise may simply also refer to various agencies sharing information and resources in the best interest of a community. In Washington an appeal toward its historic homes resulting from worsening sprawl and traffic in the suburbs has forced city officials to strengthen the role of the planning department, by significantly increasing its staff and working with the National Capital Planning Commission and other agencies to push forth priorities that cut across agency jurisdictions (Swope, 2004). Relevant examples derived from Montreal, Vancouver and San Francisco will be discussed in the sections which follow.

However, in cities such as New Orleans and Atlanta, government efforts were not projected toward adequate or long-term social and physical regeneration. Instead, an increased presence of international investment in downtown New Orleans to support government plans to develop a gaming industry in the city centre, and a plan to renew the downtown core of Atlanta that was limited in scope (i.e. lacking social considerations) in its preparation for the Olympics, are examples of political influences that act against promoting the return or stability of inner-city residency (see: Gotham, 2005 and Rutheiser, 1997). Thus, the literature also points to the capacity of the media as well as the state to encourage or discourage a demand for inner-city living and these are factors related to Smith's assertion that demand is not necessarily consumer driven, but may instead be created by a return of capital.

1.3 The Positive and Negative Impacts of Gentrification

1.3.1 The General Effects

An analysis of the literature concerning gentrification in the inner-city would be severely lacking without some insight regarding the positive and negative impacts it entails.

Filion (1991) examines some of the many benefits derived by gentrifiers. He presents three main benefits. First, gentrifiers gain easy access to employment in light of the core's concentration of office space and multifaceted transportation options. Secondly, gentrifiers benefit through high equity-building potential due to a change in the location preferences of a new service class. Finally, gentrifiers benefit from their opportunities to establish a high level of political capacity through their sharing of similar

class positions and attitudes. These attitudes encourage and ease interpersonal communication. This combined with a shared and common interest in their community as well as a heightened political awareness (due to generally higher levels of education), allows them to exert significant influence in their local environment. Although many of these effects may be witnessed within middle class neighbourhoods in the suburbs, the distinction rests in the fact that gentrifiers share the benefits enjoyed in the suburbs, as well as the many amenities and services of an urbane lifestyle.

Regarding the positive impacts on the gentrified neighbourhood itself, Bourne (1993) outlines some of the commonly observed benefits:

"Indeed gentrification has altered the face, composition and ambiance of many older neighbourhoods. It has improved housing quality and social service levels, altered the political dynamic and augmented the local tax base of the central city (in part through a redistribution of investment)..." p.185.

It is however, important to revisit what may be an erroneous assessment often discussed in the literature namely, that gentrification augments the tax-base of cities. Although it is somewhat qualified by Bourne (1993), movement into the inner-city and gentrification itself are the activities of individuals that were typically already living in the central city and therefore are not necessarily generating more revenue for the city as implied above. Nevertheless, as mentioned their investment capacity and political influence help to focus further investment (e.g. commerce, municipal services) within these neighbourhoods (also see Freeman 2005). In an effort to further emphasize the many perceived benefits of gentrification, Atkinson (2004) provides a list of common attributes related to the process. These include: stabilization of declining areas, increased property values, reduced vacancy rates, increased fiscal revenues (see previous note), encouragement and increased viability of further development (as mentioned), reduction of urban sprawl,

increased social mix, decreased crime and the rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship.

Despite the transformation which is witnessed through gentrification and the many benefits accrued to incoming residents, the process has been criticized for a number of reasons. Although Bourne (1993) has outlined some of the benefits of gentrification, he also notes:

"In the affected neighbourhoods, on the other hand, it has contributed to a reduction in the low-rent housing stock and displaced hundreds of residents, some of whom (notably tenants) have suffered as a consequence". p. 185

However, Bourne (1993) also states that these effects will be reconciled as the general conditions which have stimulated demand (refer to section above) no longer apply. Atkinson (2004) concurs with and adds a variety of negative implications resulting from gentrification. These include: community resentment and conflict, loss of affordable housing, unsustainable speculative property price increases, homelessness, greater use of public funds (due to middle-class political influence), commercial/industrial displacement, increased cost and changes to local services, loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to affluent ghettos), increased crime (due to attraction of wealth), under-occupancy and population loss, displacement through rent/price increases, displacement and housing demand pressures on bordering poor areas and the secondary psychological costs of displacement.

In light of the importance of displacement as a recurring impact of gentrification in various definitions, it would only be fitting to also include the findings of Freeman (2005), who explains that the evidence of displacement due to gentrification is less definitive. He found only a modest relationship and he suggests that neighbourhoods can gentrify without widespread displacement. According to Freeman the more prevalent

factor in neighbourhood change is rather who is moving in. This is supported by Hamnett (2003) who explains that although displacement is at times the result of gentrification it is best understood as the result of a slow reduction of the working class population in many inner-cities, which results from a long-term reduction in the size of the working-class population as a whole. Consequently, through retirement, death, out-migration or upward social mobility the working class is replaced by the middle-class. Thus, it may be termed replacement rather than displacement (also see Hudson, 1980).

1.32 Urban Revitalization and Community Involvement (An Ethnographic Focus)

Although each of the general effects of gentrification deserves particular attention, this section of the review will deal exclusively with the impacts of gentrification on community involvement (or vice versa). This is done in an effort to consider the potential implications of planning initiatives aimed at improving the socioeconomic conditions of particular inner-city neighbourhoods in need of attention. Community involvement is central to any revitalization plan, in light of the fact that it serves as a tool to minimize the negative impacts that would otherwise result from an unfettered development process which simply follows the momentum of gentrification. Social capital is seen as a means to enhancing community involvement. It is a leveraging of the available resources within a community in order that residents and local organizations may have a say in the direction development takes and any resulting impacts. Much of the current literature on community involvement initiatives seems to stem from the United Kingdom. Although these initiatives have received their share of criticism, most sources seem to focus on the positive intent directed toward more

disadvantaged neighbourhoods and how they may best be served through a greater understanding of local resources, as well as the concerns and aspirations of residents.

The concept of multi-agency cooperation or local strategic partnerships (LSPs) received much attention in the UK when initiated by the government. The main objective was to establish dialogue with community-based organizations and with revitalization agencies so as to determine the extent to which the needs of local groups were being addressed (Diamond, 2004). However, the fact that much of the agenda was centrally planned and funded brought some criticism that the goals did not stem from the distinct needs of each community. Meegan and Mitchell (2001) have addressed the issue of scale in their analysis of area-based policies. In their opinion, the neighbourhood must be examined on an appropriate scale in order to understand the everyday functions it serves and to address its needs accordingly. Focusing on scale will allow policy to make sense in areas designated for revitalization, as well as allow an opportunity for the community to influence policy.

Some attributes of the UK government's initiatives included local accountability, the fostering of local leadership, and the involvement of community and voluntary organizations working in partnership with statutory agencies (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001 in Cemlyn et al 2005). In light of these goals an important objective has become the provision of necessary resources for local communities to allow them to participate fully in the design and delivery of partnership plans (Cemlyn et al, 2005). It is understood that such goals will require a cultural and attitude change among local authorities. Thus the literature indicates a departure from past area-based initiatives that simply focused on economic revitalization at the expense of social and community development in poor

neighbourhoods. One element of such support involves educating community groups on discourse practices, knowledge acquisition and exercising their rights. Cemlyn et al (2005) suggest that successful initiatives can result from a combination of critical engagement and Freirean adult education.

In addition to potential learning, local leadership has been presented as a key element of empowerment. Purdue (2001) explains that for partnerships to have relevance, neighbourhoods require two types of social capital: internal (having the trust of community groups/networks) and external (private and public revitalization partners). Social capital therefore, includes the ability of individual community members engaged in bottom-up development to establish links with big players such as; local authorities, banks, private companies and funding bodies. One grassroots social movement which mobilized links with various players and realized a successful revitalization plan was the Angus Technopole in Montreal. Although this project is an example of a *brownfield site* development, it is nevertheless a case which demonstrated the capacity of social movements to maintain strong leadership and to be a part of the implementation of a process, which saw community initiative combining neighbourhood and community development with business oriented projects (Fontan et al, 2004). Despite being a *brownfield* redevelopment the networking and cooperation among various community groups in this case, may also be employed in the revitalization policies and practices of local players for the enhancement of inner-city residential areas and in their efforts to avoid the negative consequences of gentrification.

The literature then, indicates a need to strike a balance between social and physical revitalization. In many urban centres, policy makers have failed to understand

the need for areas in decline to change and develop from within (Hull, 2001). Most governments and their agencies are now embracing a holistic approach to public involvement in an effort to promote ‘*sustainable*’ or what has also come to be known as ‘*Smart Growth*’ practices, which include principles similar to those outlined by the Smart Growth Network shown in table 1.0:

Table 1.0

Principles of Smart Growth

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a range of housing opportunities and choice • Create walkable neighbourhoods • Encourage community and stakeholder collaboration • Foster distinctive, attractive places with a strong sense of place • Mix land uses • Preserve open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas • Provide a variety of transportation choices • Strengthen and direct development toward existing communities • Take advantage of compact building design |
|---|

(Ye et al. 2005: 303)

Hull (2001) explains the concept in an urban context:

“The sustainability of a neighbourhood is related to the quality of life residents enjoy, their desire to remain living in the area and the attractiveness of the area to those living outside.” p.303.

Tallon and Bromley (2004) parallel this with the policy orientation occurring in the UK:

“These policies embrace physical regeneration, social and economic revitalization, community renewal, enhancement of safety and security, and environmental sustainability.” p. 774

The literature implies that it only stands to reason that social revitalization must include the empowerment of local communities and opportunities to engage in discourse, planning, and to influence appropriate outcomes in their best long-term interest.

In light of the focus on empowering local communities it is also important to recognize the contribution and potential of immigrant community groups, their leadership and the social capital they employ. In various examples from the available literature areas of high immigrant concentrations already seem to have established networks which, with

encouragement and public support would provide an alternative to continued gentrification and its undesirable effects (Carmon, 1998; Kloosterman and Van der Leun, 1999).

However, despite the many resources which may be realized from immigrant groups in any revitalization effort, policy initiatives must also consider the possibility that the succession of immigrant groups into inner-city areas may produce a secondary influx of higher-income residents. These residents are attracted to the cultural distinctness of an area, thus increasing the demand and cost of housing and the incidence of further displacement. Such a process has become evident in the Plâteau-Mont-Royal district of Montreal, where the efforts and success of the Portuguese community in reviving the area have attracted many new residents with greater financial means. Consequently, this has led to an increasing shift in the social, physical, economic and cultural characteristics of the district. As a result it is important that policy not only support immigrant groups, but that it also provides an opportunity for such communities to influence their long-term stability by having a direct input in policy. The socioeconomic revitalization of inner-city neighbourhoods is therefore a resulting consequence of physical revitalization, but one which is dependent on whether policy-makers embrace inclusive decision-making practices in the process (a constructive approach), or if they simply engage in giving them lip-service (a nominal approach).

1.4 Policy Implications

Upon reflecting on the store of literature concerning gentrification or urban revitalization, it is evident that numerous key issues are the focus of contemporary policy formulation.

1.41 Displacement, Inner-Ring Suburbs and Smart Growth

Displacement with its causes and implications is perhaps the byproduct of gentrification to have received the most criticism. However, according to Freeman (2005) although displacement is modestly correlated with gentrification it does not seem to be as prevalent as it is often perceived. From a policy perspective, Freeman suggests that gentrification should continue to be encouraged since it brings increased investment and middle-class households to areas that have been blighted. Moreover, it would enhance the tax base of many cities and increase socioeconomic integration.

In light of the dilemma posed by the possibility of displacement and since the inner core is not the only area within the central city that can accommodate homebuyers with the many amenities they are seeking, the literature provides an alternative response. Lee and Leigh (2005) propose a solution to the incidence of displacement in the inner-city and it is one which respects some of the '*smart growth*' principles adopted by numerous local governments. They express the need for governments to begin focusing on inner-ring suburbs. These areas have few tools available to counter their own decline and since they are often not self-governing, the authors argue that it is imperative that public investment be directed to them.

There are many advantages to such an approach. Revitalization in the inner suburbs would help curb sprawl into the periphery while at the same time extend the life of previous social and economic investments that were made in these areas in the form of existing infrastructure (Lee and Leigh, 2005). In addition, these areas possess a large labour force and are in close proximity to downtown and local entrepreneurs while also benefiting from the advantages of density (Wiewel and Persky, 1994). Thus, the efficient use of established physical and social resources is consistent with smart growth (see Ye et al, 2005). More importantly however, the rehabilitation of inner-ring suburbs would help relieve the growing pressure on inner-city areas by those who are searching for the location and amenity advantages they provide.

1.42 Encouraging Alternative Forms of Revitalization

A third policy alternative related to the displacement discourse and which has presented itself in the literature is the encouragement of upgrading and forms of revitalization other than gentrification (refer to '*Types of Gentrification*'). The literature indicates that policy formation must consider revitalization in the context of city size (Bunting, 1987; Millward and Davis, 1986; and Van Criekingen and Decroly, 2003). In smaller sized cities such as Montreal and Brussels as well as smaller order cities such as Halifax and Kitchener, revitalization of the central city has manifested itself through marginal gentrification, upgrading and incumbent upgrading (see earlier explanations). As a result, successful revitalization in many areas was achieved without ramped displacement or escalating housing costs. Although these forms may also entail middle-class residents, they are in many cases people of more modest means and would therefore

benefit from government incentives aimed at revitalization, the stability of resident populations and a corresponding reduction in speculative real-estate activity.

1.43 The Role of Immigrants in Revitalization and the Issue of Social Diversity

A policy objective that would have a similar effect of curbing displacement and encouraging the vitality of inner-city neighbourhoods is as mentioned, a support system for immigrant communities. The important role of partnerships in an effort to address the growing demands of inner cities is increasingly evident. As part of these partnerships, several authors have seen immigrants as a significant pathway to urban revitalization (Carmon, 1998; Kloosterman and Van der Leun, 1999). Hence, another policy option for controlling displacement and maintaining a social mix in the inner-city would be the utilization of the entrepreneurial capital and social networks of immigrants. This would be done in an effort to strengthen local neighbourhood economies through the provision of: specialized goods, expanded job potential, transmitted information and role modeling.

In addition to the issue of displacement, it is clear through the literature that creating a social mix (not simply in the economic sense) or the absence of one is integral to any policy discussions. Again one method of creating such a mix has been discussed above namely, government initiatives to encourage and support the integration of immigrant communities in the inner-city. The benefits of gentrification have been linked to a deconcentration of poverty, or a relative increase in the social mix of some neighbourhoods (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001). Unfortunately however, according to Atkinson (2004) there seems to be little evidence to support these claims. Kleinhans (2004) also points out that British and Dutch policy assumptions regarding social mix

have not been realized. It was found that with the exception of improvements to housing quality, interaction between owners and renters is limited. Certain '*nimby*' attitudes exist that may serve to produce negative interactions and limited social interaction, thereby decreasing the possibility of role modeling within a neighbourhood. Finally the deconcentration of poverty often fails to address the causes of disadvantaged situations in various households (Kleinhans, 2004: 385). What seems to occur with time is that a concentrated working class or impoverished population is replaced by a concentrated middle-class population. Hence the encouragement of immigrant communities into inner-city neighbourhoods and their stability therein, is an alternative revitalization strategy independent of class, and which would help curb the incidence of displacement while adding to an area's social mix.

Related to these scenarios is another area that requires further attention with regard to inner-city revitalization namely, the capacity of inner-city neighbourhoods to accommodate the return of the family as part of the social mix. A study by Karsten (2003) revealed that inner-city living for families returning to the centre was not always conducive to family requirements. The lack of key facilitating aspects such as; child care services, safe places to play, traffic safety, children's clubs and good schools resulted in a number of issues which need to be addressed in future policy.

In contrast to some of the negative findings of Kleinhans (2004) regarding a limited social mix or acceptance of it, a study by Rose (2004) examined the actual experiences of social diversity in the inner-city context. The study revealed that recent purchasers of municipally sponsored condominiums (i.e. *infill developments*) had a range of perceptions regarding social and affordable housing in their neighbourhood. Findings

from this study indicated that '*nimby*' sentiments among one segment of inner-city condominium purchasers in Montreal were far from prevalent. Despite being an example of *infill*, it is not likely to vary significantly with regard to areas experiencing gentrification. This seems to imply that opportunities to accommodate a diverse social mix (e.g. immigrants, single-parent and traditional families, fixed income earners, etc.) can and still arise for low to moderate cost housing in neighbourhoods that have already undergone significant gentrification (much of which is attributed to diverse land-use planning).

In addition to the revitalization efforts in Washington D.C. discussed earlier, both Vancouver and San Francisco have seen revitalization plans evolve in a manner that would include some form of social mix. In Vancouver (False Creek) new policy priorities in the 1970s focused on people before property and this included mixed-income housing and the provision of diverse occupational and social groups (Hutton, 2002). Such plans were possible through rezoning and a policy which was influenced by a commitment to public participation. In San Francisco, redevelopment of its low-income Tenderloin district brought about a grassroots effort to successfully battle gentrification initiatives. The mobilization of community organizations effectively achieved significant mitigations, influenced the downzoning of much prime downtown property and paved the way for a non-profit housing boom (Robinson, 1995). Thus it is suggested that rezoning or downzoning and provisions for mixed tenure as well as private and public rental units in redevelopment plans, would help revive neighbourhoods along the same vein as these two examples and improve on the smart growth initiatives mentioned earlier.

1.44 Meaningful Public Participation and Community Partnerships

Proceeding from the examples of successful public action to influence social mixing, the literature provides numerous sources supporting the need for policy to further facilitate meaningful public participation (Hull, 2001; Forrest and Kearns, 2001). In addition to the need to understand the level and impact of a community's social capital and networking capacity, Forest and Kearns (2001) provide a number of important domains (see table 1.1) that governments should embrace in an effort to achieve comprehensive community participation and satisfaction, as well as the local policies that may be implemented to achieve each. It is the *Supporting Networks and Reciprocity*

Table 1.1

The domains of social capital and appropriate neighbourhood policies to support them

Domains	Descriptions	Local Policies
Empowerment	That people feel they have a voice which is listened to; are involved in processes that affect them; can themselves take action to initiate changes	Providing support to community groups; giving local people 'voice'; helping to provide solutions to problems; giving local people a role in policy processes
Participation	That people take part in social and Community activities; local events occur and are well attended	Establishing and/or supporting local activities and local organizations; publicizing local events
Associational activity and Common purpose	That people cooperate with one another through the formation of formal and Informal groups to further their interests	Developing and supporting networks between organizations in the area
Supporting networks and Reciprocity	That individuals and organizations cooperate to support one another for either mutual or one-sided gain; an expectation that help would be given to or received from others when needed	Creating, developing and/or supporting an ethos of co-operation between individuals and organizations which develop ideas of support; good neighbour award schemes
Collective means and values	That people share common values and norms of behaviour	Developing and promulgating an ethos which residents recognize and accept; securing harmonious social relations; promoting community interests
Trust	That people feel they can trust their co-residents and local organizations responsible for governing or serving their area	Encouraging trust in residents in their relationships with each other; delivering on policy promises; bringing conflicting groups together

Safety	That people feel safe in their neighbourhood and are not restricted in their use of public space by fear	Encouraging a sense of safety in residents; involvement in local crime prevention; providing visible evidence of security measures
Belonging	That people feel connected to their co-residents, their home area, have a sense of belonging to the place and its people	Creating, developing and/or supporting a sense of belonging in resident; boosting the identity of a place via design, street furnishings, naming

(Forrest and Kearns, 2001: 2140)

domain and its importance which is reflected in the work of Fontan et al. (2004). Through a study of the Angus Technopole industrial reconversion project in Montreal, one is better able to understand how community groups, business, government and development partners were able to mobilize resources in an effort to revitalize central city areas for residential and economic development. What this case demonstrates is that policy should not only encourage neighbourhood participation, but outside community involvement. This may be achieved by engaging a host of players from citizen's groups to politicians and various economic actors working toward meaningful partnerships not only in realizing a project, but in mitigation and follow-up.

1.5 Conclusion (Literature Review)

In light of the discussion in this literature review, it is evident that gentrification is a process which has developed over several decades and one which has taken on several forms in varying contexts. An evaluation of the literature has (although often without conclusiveness) lead to a better understanding of: what gentrification entails; those initiating the process and their motivations; its causes and outcomes; and the many policy implications stemming from case studies and theoretical perspectives.

In an effort to provide a more comprehensive definition of gentrification for the purpose of this thesis, a number of characteristics presented in the literature are of primary importance. Gentrification may be described as a process which significantly alters the physical and social form of a neighbourhood and one which involves a socioeconomic shift in the class structure of its residents. This transformation is primarily the result of a growing 'new middle-class' or service professionals with particular consumptive behaviours and who are drawn to central areas (often pioneered by artists and other marginal gentrifiers) that have experienced de-industrialization and decline, but which are characterized by numerous amenities. Finally the consequence of a growth in a new socioeconomic class accelerates a demand for existing properties, thus leading to the eventual displacement of those unable to afford a rise in housing costs. It is important to note however, that gentrification may often be used synonymously with revitalization. This is problematic in light of the fact that despite much positive change, gentrification also implies a number of associated negative impacts stemming from development. Most importantly revitalization should, in contrast to gentrification, refer to a process of improvement where universal community benefits are a central outcome. As a result revitalization should not imply displacement as is the case with many definitions of gentrification found within the literature.

In addition to their usefulness in defining gentrification, the various sources which have been cited in this review are of great importance in any future endeavor to consider the potential for revitalization in inner-city areas, and what may be done to best address many of the legitimate concerns arising from past gentrification efforts in the context of each neighbourhood and its available resources.

Notwithstanding the wealth of information presented in this review, this thesis attempts to address an area that commonly lacks attention in the gentrification literature. What is presented is an ethnographic method of inquiry aimed at understanding the primary concerns and aspirations of longstanding residents, who have experienced the changes brought about by gentrification and continue to reside in their neighbourhood. In doing so this study has elected to focus on those most able to evaluate the positive or negative impacts of change in their community over time. This shift from the common focus on gentrifiers or the displaced elevates the perspectives of a population affected by gentrification, but which is often under-analyzed. The objective of this research therefore, is to aid any future studies by contributing a greater understanding of the true impacts of gentrification on longstanding residents, as well as the appropriate policy directions that are necessary to mitigate impacts, or maintain and enhance the benefits of gentrification in the best interest of a community.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study incorporated a multi-method approach employing both primary (qualitative) and secondary (quantitative and qualitative) sources. The secondary sources provided a base of supporting knowledge regarding the process of gentrification in areas such as Montreal's St. Henri district. The selected sources included: news and documentary reports, academic journals, government records, and books. Primary sources consisted of 31 semi-structured interviews with St. Henri residents who have resided in the area since prior to the reopening of the Lachine Canal in 2002, as well as a meeting with the mayoral attaché of the Southwest borough of Montreal. These interviews placed the information acquired from secondary sources in the context of the local living environment of St. Henri residents.

The initial phase of data collection was based on a review of the secondary sources relating to gentrification and the physical and social changes brought about in St. Henri as a result of earlier renovation activity and new development along the Lachine Canal. Academic journals provided a consistent and well researched bank of knowledge related to the definition of gentrification and gentrifiers, the various manifestations of gentrification, its causal factors and its positive and negative implications for communities undergoing change. Articles from local Montreal newspapers, documentaries and websites have provided a contemporary perspective on the perceived impacts of gentrification in St. Henri as well as a useful demographic perspective. As a result, it has been possible to focus on the social, economic and physical changes which have occurred prior to and since the reopening of the Lachine Canal.

Due to the specific nature of this research (i.e. examining the impacts of change

on pre-development residents), the use of semi-structured interviews, each of a forty-five to sixty minute duration, was deemed to be the most suitable method of soliciting information regarding the socioeconomic and spatial impacts of development on St. Henri residents. Semi-structured interviews allowed the flexibility necessary to engage participants in expressing their perceptions and voicing their concerns. The use of this approach was significant in an effort to emphasize the ethnographic intent of this research. As a result it was instrumental in deriving the essential concerns and areas of satisfaction among remaining residents, which stemmed from the various changes associated with the Lachine Canal and the gentrification process it has stimulated or proceeded. While many of the questions were open-ended to their effect, there were also some more structured questions regarding socioeconomic attributes to allow for comparability across interviewees (see appendix A for sample interview guide). The sample was based on a *snowballing* process, which allowed the researcher to interview stakeholders by establishing secondary contacts stemming from initial contacts. The potential impact of a group bias was significantly mitigated by the use of a sizable sample (i.e. a minimum of thirty participants).

In an effort to cross-check the data derived from the study sample, various findings were compared to area statistics found in the Canadian census for the years 1996 and 2001. A comparison of the study area findings with the general area statistics of St. Henri as found in the census records indicates parallels in almost every statistical area. Thus there is some evidence that the sample used in this study offers a similar yet basic demographic profile of the socioeconomic characteristics of the district in general.

Regarding language, the proportional distribution of French, English, Bilingual and Neither official language is within 5% in every category except Bilingual (appendix H.19). Between 1996 and 2001 the census also shows a change in the percentage of visible minorities from 15% to 17% and a similar rise in the overall share of immigrants from 12.5% of the population to 14.5% (appendix H.21 & H.22). This rise was also reflected in the many interviews, as 19 of 31 respondents (61%) made it a point to mention a growth in diversity as compared to lower levels of social mixing prior to 2002 (Interview Sample: 2006). The proportion of residents within the sample declaring themselves of Canadian origin (87%) was also consistent with the census data indicating 92% for 2001 and 92.5% for 1996 (appendix H.20). Other findings from the census statistics which demonstrate a link to the sample include data referring to religious affiliation, which seems to qualify two facts reported during the sample interviews (appendix H.28 & H.21). First, the Catholic majority is obvious and continues. Secondly, the increased diversity mentioned by the residents was in the early stages of growth.

In terms of educational attainment it is possible to see that in both the census data (appendix H.31) and sample findings, residents with some level of university training make up a significant proportion of the population. The comparison of census data and sample findings also indicate that the majority of occupations are classified as professional/arts (appendix H.29). However, the census findings indicate a decline in this category from 1996 to 2001 and a rise in manual/other occupations (appendix H.29). In comparison the sample findings indicated in figure 1.9 (on page 57) categorize 65% of the residents as falling within the professional/arts category and 35% in manual/other. This seems to be somewhere in between the two census years and shows a higher

percentage of sample residents engaged in the professional/arts category. In addition to the above factors the related household income levels also prove to be similar, as the 2001 census average of \$32, 537 falls within the median range found in the sample namely; between \$25,000 and \$39.999 (appendix H.23).

Finally with regard to marital status, the 2001 and 1996 figures of 53% and 52% (respectively) of local residents living as couples also match closely with the 54% found in the sample (appendix H.26). The same is true for single parents. According to the 2001 census this group accounted for 47% compared to 48% for 1996. These figures again compare closely with the sample finding, which shows 45.5% falling within this category (appendix H.26).

Despite some parallels between the census data and the aggregated data generated from the various interviews in St. Henri, it is important to note that since this thesis centres primarily on qualitative results, the data which quantifies the perceptions residents hold of their neighbourhood and development, should not be viewed as generally representative of the sample or the area as a whole. As a result, numerous responses from residents have been documented in an effort to demonstrate the many gray areas presented by much of the statistical information. Thus, the statistics must be interpreted as simply providing a basic portrait of the sample and area residents and should not be viewed as evidence of gentrification or its various impacts on the community of St. Henri.

The use of both secondary and primary sources in this study thus allowed for *triangulation*, that is, a process of achieving a level of credibility by cross-checking the results of the various interviews with the information derived in the literature review and

government statistics. As a result, it was possible to analyze the extent to which common findings in the research literature matched with findings focused exclusively on local stakeholders who are rarely studied, namely residents who have experienced a process of gentrification and have remained.

In addition to methodological difficulties posed by fieldwork research in general, it is important to note two, in particular, that relate to this case. First, it must be recognized that any research based on door to door sampling presents issues relating to trust. Many residents within the area were skeptical with regard to the research and as a result proved to be uncooperative. Much of this may be related to a reticent view of living space on the part of longstanding residents, which was often remarked upon by those within this sample. However, part of it may also be attributed to my status as an 'outsider'. Secondly, it is important to mention difficulties in achieving the sample itself. Most of these difficulties stem from the analysis of development in St. Henri and in determining the impacts of gentrification in the area. The use of a snowballing technique for interviewing residents became problematic as interviews became concentrated in one particular area where residents seemed to share similar views on development. To overcome this problem snowballing was simultaneously initiated in other areas within the district in an effort to establish a more diverse sample. The fact that more sample residents are concentrated in certain areas does not detract from the study, but assists it by pointing more specifically to the areas that have experienced gentrification and separating them from those where the lack of positive social and economic changes is due to reasons other than gentrification, or from those in close proximity experiencing change as a result of the reopening of the Lachine Canal. Finally an additional note related to this research

concerns the difficulty of acquiring the most recent government statistics. Although the 2006 general census was available, community profiles for individual urban areas and their constituents would not be made available for at least another year.

3. THE GENTRIFICATION PROCESS IN ST. HENRI

3.1 The Community of St. Henri

The community of St. Henri is situated in the Southwestern portion of Montreal (pre-merger territory). It is conveniently located in close proximity to the city's downtown core and is composed of census tracts 79-84 (see area maps in Appendix F). The district has an area of 2.1 km² and comprises a total population of 13, 563 inhabitants, which are characterized by diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Statistics Canada, 2002). Despite the advantages of its location, for the most part St. Henri has not benefited from the city's spurts of economic growth until recently.

In an effort to better understand the context of revitalization initiatives in St. Henri, it is imperative that its demographic profile be included. Regarding its linguistic composition, St. Henri presents a number of characteristics which are similar to those found within the City of Montreal, with 37% of the population being francophone, 8% anglophone, 54% bi-lingual and 1% of which speak neither French nor English (Statistics Canada, 2002, appendix H.19). Among families with children under 19 years of age in 2001, 47% were single parents and 53% were couples (Statistics Canada, 2002). Since 1996, the area has seen an increase in immigrants from 12.5% of its population to 14.5% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2002, 1997). Within the area, individuals under 19 years of age amount to 21% of the population versus 13% for those over the age of 65 (Statistics Canada, 2002). Thus, there has been a 3% decline among the former and an increase of 2% among the latter since 1996 (Statistics Canada, 2002, 1997).

The area is home to the remnants of one of Canada's greatest economic achievements namely; the Lachine Canal, a project that was the hallmark of nineteenth

century engineering and served as the impetus for facilitated trade within the Great-Lakes-St. Lawrence. Following World War II, the district was considered to be at the core of Canada's economic activity. Unfortunately, such a status began to be compromised with the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 and the closing of the Lachine Canal (www.clsc-sthenri.qc.ca). Thus this would be the first of many factors which would draw industry and therefore labour away from the area. As for the Lachine Canal which became unused and polluted, it soon became a symbol of the area's decline (www.montrealmirror.com/ARCHIVES/1999/061799/news5.html).

In light of its growing economic decline, the St. Henri area was one of the first social development centres in Montreal. Many organizations devoted to people and their empowerment, were initiated in this area and continue to serve the community. One of the most prominent projects to develop in St. Henri was Habitat for Humanity's first affordable housing development in Quebec in 1999 (www.habitatmontreal.qc.ca). Recent community involvement has seen the mobilization and action of its residents toward economic and social recovery primarily through regeneration efforts. However, such a process has also been marked by controversy and has stimulated debates over the possible consequences of displacement and reduced social services as they apply to the area's most disadvantaged residents (www.montrealmirror.com/2005/111705/front.html).

The dynamics of this historic district and its border areas are characterized by its diverse social make-up and land uses. Businesses, industries and residences are found side by side creating a fabric which would be congruent with the views of the late and well known urban activist Jane Jacobs (www.clsc-sthenri.qc.ca). Moreover, the area is directly serviced by two metro stations (Lionel Groulx and Place St. Henri) which is a

major factor for the continuity of existing businesses and a relatively stable population. In fact, statistics indicate that public transportation is used by 45% of working residents as opposed to the 32% average in Montreal (www.clsc-sthenri.qc.ca; Statistics Canada, 2002).

In an effort to paint a clearer picture of St. Henri's social condition, it is important to focus on several other factors. Two positive indicators which may suggest the arrival of new gentrifying residents are that, the area's employment rate has risen from 47% in 1996 to 56% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2002, 1997). During this same period, its unemployment rate also declined from 18% to 11% (Statistics Canada, 2002, 1997). One may add that these two factors have contributed to a decrease in the number of homeowners and renters that are allocating more than 30% of their gross income to housing (the limit after which the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (*CMHC*) considers housing to be unaffordable). Unfortunately, despite these positive trends average family incomes lag 39% behind the Greater Montreal average (Statistics Canada, 2002 & Canadian Census, 2001). Despite this rather large gap, the rate of those falling below the low-income cutoff (LICO) for economic families and private households respectively declined from 48% and 53% in 1996 to 35% and 45% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2002, 1997). Hence the income lag in comparison to Greater Montreal may to some extent be attributed to low-wage service jobs. Such a factor may help explain the declining motivation of youth between the ages of 15 and 24 to attend school as statistics have pointed to a rise of non-participation from 35% in 1996 to 47% in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2002, 1997).

Despite some discouraging social indicators, St. Henri has numerous resources at its disposal, which augment its potential for regeneration as well as controlled sustainable growth. Its location, bank of human resources, various transportation links, ample greenspace, traditional commercial core and substantial services make it a clear candidate for an alternative and more participatory form of revival with universal benefits for its diverse population.

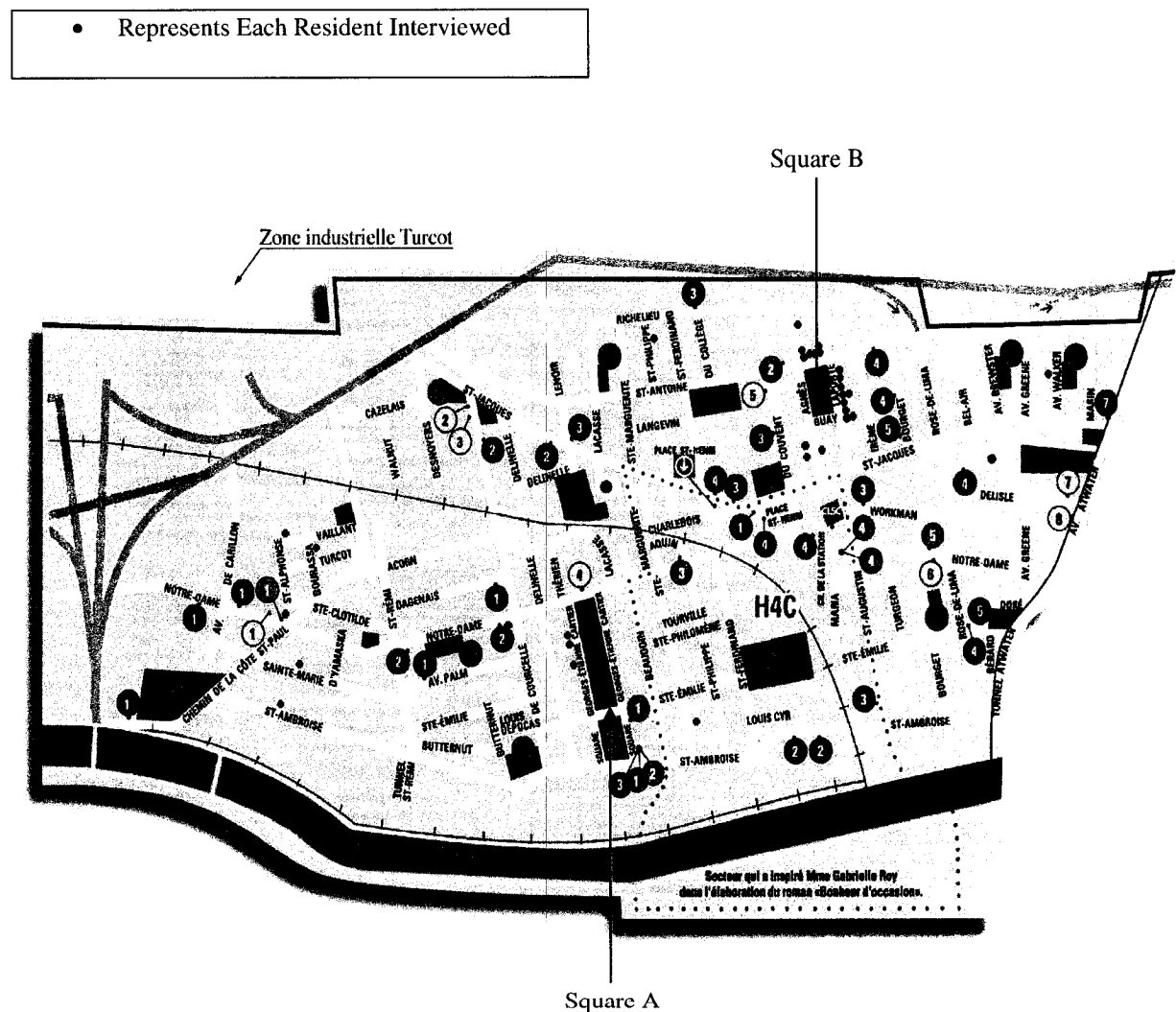
3.2 Findings of St. Henri Sample Study

The findings derived from the St. Henri study reveal numerous data and an interesting picture of area residents. The analysis that follows first provides a more nuanced description of the sample employed for this study. This is followed with an overview of the interviewees' impressions of the St. Henri neighbourhood before 2002, including the locational attributes that drew them to the area (for those who relocated to St. Henri from elsewhere). The impressions of the past are then compared with the views of the St. Henri neighbourhood today, highlighting the perceived positive and negative attributes associated with gentrification. The analysis concludes with a brief discussion of the 'social capital' in the area.

There are two important issues that need to be qualified before a presentation of the findings. First, the findings indicate an economic as well as a social division within the district. Areas which have demonstrated characteristic aspects of the gentrification process appear to be concentrated in two areas focused on parks and which are often referred to as squares (see map 1). These two areas are centred on the streets of Georges-

Etienne Cartier (marked as square A) and the park area flanked by Agnès and Laporte streets (marked as square B). Since both areas (particularly the Agnès/Laporte area) have always been considered the more “bourgeois” neighbourhoods within the district, what

Map 1: St. Henri Services/Amenities and Study Sample



Source: www.clsc-sthenri.qc.ca

has resulted is more of a resident social composition that parallels that of an earlier time (a 're-bourgeoisification'), which was interrupted by a period of social/income mix following commercial and industrial closures in St. Henri. In contrast to the two areas mentioned above, the non-park areas have traditionally and continue to experience degradation, poverty and underdevelopment. Thus, to adequately depict how these differences are reflected in data and are exhibited in residents' perceptions, many of the findings which follow are disaggregated into 'park' and 'non-park' areas.

Second, the meaning of gentrification is not always understood in the same way across interviewees. For the purposes of this thesis, it is essential that these distinctions be clarified. It is important to note that several residents referred to condominium development along the Canal as part of the gentrification occurring in the area and as a result, this may have affected their perceptions of all development activity in St. Henri. This view persists even though most of the new condominium development seems to have been constructed as infill, on previously vacant land, or through alterations made to vacant factories and warehouses, and as such, cannot be said to be gentrification as it is understood in the strict sense of the term (see Van Crielingen and Decroly, 2003). Accordingly, the new condominium development cannot be said to have had a direct relation to gentrification in St. Henri, but rather an indirect relationship in that it has perhaps been stimulated by, or conversely has encouraged, gentrification (i.e. new construction and renovations) primarily in the park areas. Another view is that the condominium development may be independent from any gentrification activity in St. Henri, and was triggered by the reopening of the Lachine Canal in 2002. In either scenario, both trends have generated greater visibility and critiques targeted toward all

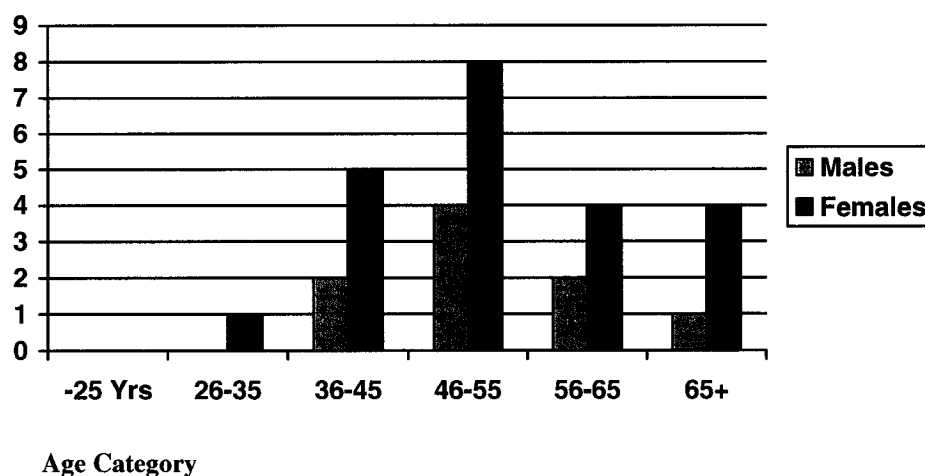
development. Thus, many residents still perceive newer developments as gentrification (i.e. area as opposed to unit gentrification) and those views are still considered in the analysis here, since the central objective is to identify the residents' general concerns.

3.21 Sample Characteristics/Description

To begin, the sample data clearly indicates a much higher proportion of females 71% to males 29% residing in the area (appendix H.1). The largest share within the age distribution of both genders was found to be individuals between the ages of 46 to 55 (see figure 1.0). Within the sample, the question of marital status among this distribution,

Figure 1.0 Area Gender Characteristics by Age

Number of Persons



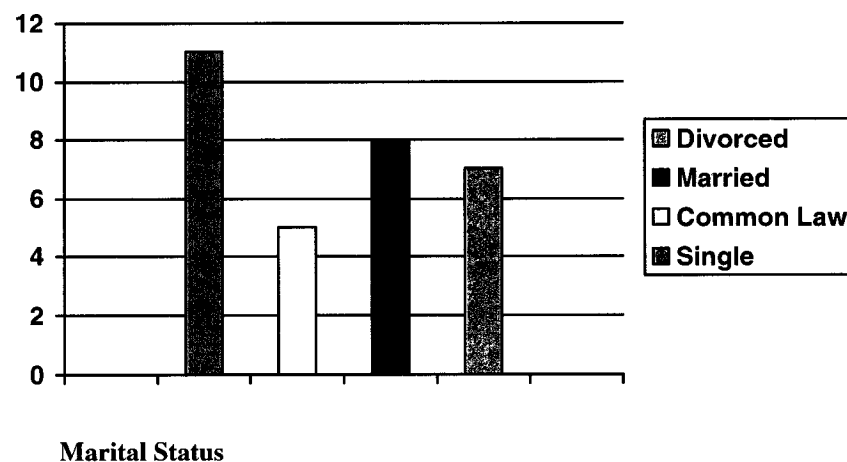
(Interview Sample: 2006)

also produced varying results (as seen in figure 1.1) which included: single (the highest), common law, married and divorced. It is therefore imperative to recognize the diverse characteristics of residents, which is a fact that should be highlighted and incorporated in

any further development plans and decisions regarding the future of St. Henri, particularly as they apply to accommodating a diverse range of housing needs.

Figure 1.1 **Residents' Marital Status**

Number of Persons



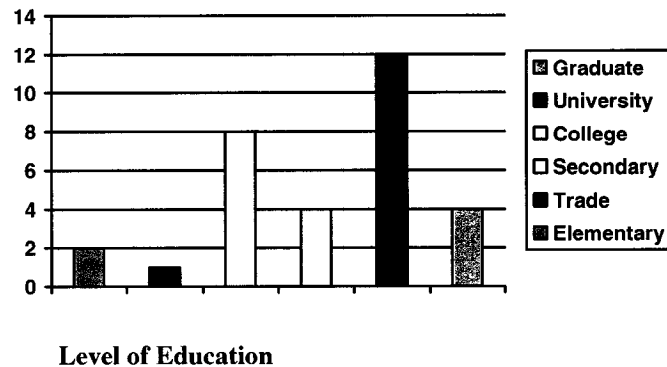
(Interview Sample: 2006)

Among the thirty-one residents interviewed, an overwhelming majority of 87% claimed to be of Canadian origin (appendix H.2). This is not indicative of the statistics which seem to point to a growing number of immigrants within the general population of St. Henri (Statistics Canada, 2002 & 1997). Despite being a lower ratio than that found in either the 2001 and 1996 census years, the percentage of those claiming Canadian origin is still relatively high, which may appear misleading with regard to the actual shift in the proportion of immigrants. The above figure may be attributed to the fact that the majority of those willing to participate in the study were concentrated around one of the two park areas. Due to the gentrification process which has taken root in these areas, rising costs may be a decisive factor in determining this response.

Finally figure 1.2 showing data regarding the education levels among residents, demonstrates that over half of the respondents have completed some level of higher education. However, when the findings are broken down between the park and non-

Figure 1.2 **Residents' Level of Education**

Number of Persons

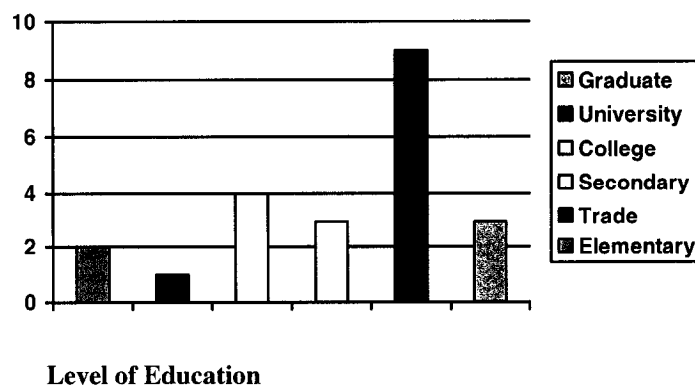


(Interview Sample: 2006)

park areas (see figures 1.3 & 1.4) a distinction is evident. Park areas exhibit a greater proportion of residents (68%) which have achieved some level of post-secondary education versus non-park areas which report less (56%).

Figure 1.3 **Residents' Level of Education (Park Areas)**

Number of Residents

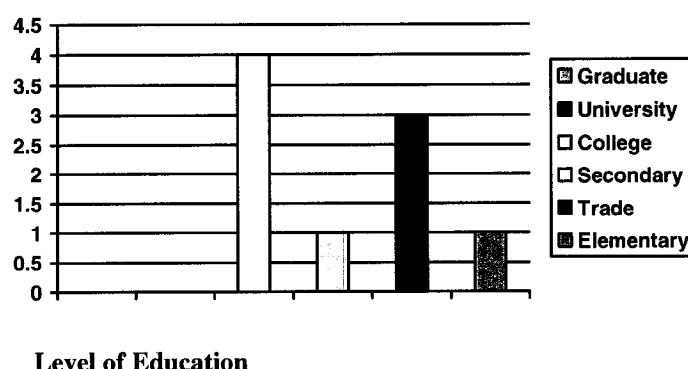


(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 1.4

Residents' Level of Education (Non-Park Areas)

Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

In addition to basic demographic characteristics, the vast majority of households in the study (26 out of 31 or 84%) reported a maximum of two occupants (appendix H.3). This low ratio of residents to home is not necessarily the result of childless dual-income homes, but rather a mixture of ‘empty nest’ scenarios, young couples and families in the early stages of growth, or students and mono-parental families seeking affordable rent in proximity to services. The following statement by one local resident (see appendix I for others), attests to the above:

“The big thing I’ve seen is the cost of housing has gone up. As far as the people living in the area there are a lot of young folk. There are still a lot of students, still a lot of families. There’s lots of the old folks still here...There are two types of people living in the area the double income and then there’s others that are very poor probably single and on welfare.” (S. Bene 28-08-06)

Despite statements such as this which claim a familial presence in the area, Daniel Bélanger the Southwest attaché to Mayor Jacqueline Montpetit commented that one of the major challenges the area faces is to find effective methods of attracting families with children (Interview: January 12, 2007). Having once been the centre of a sizeable working-class population, St. Henri lost a significant number of families. With the transformation of its former factories and warehouses to condominiums, most units were

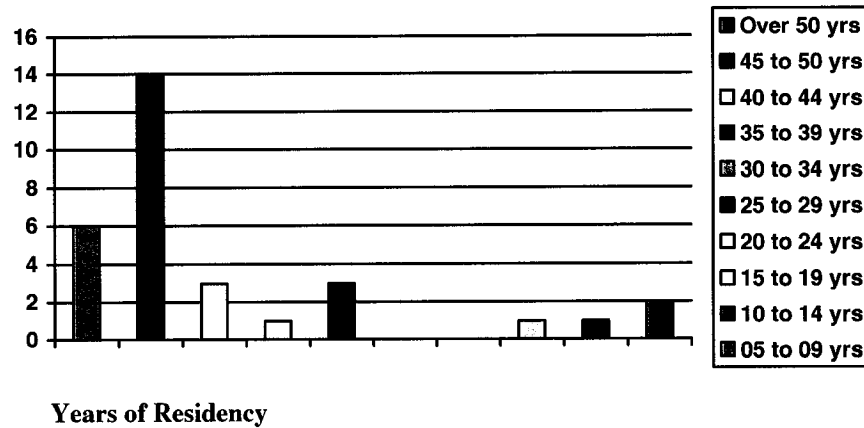
essentially oriented to single residents or couples without children. The goal of attracting families is thus a response to the above as it is not enough to merely encourage construction that will enhance a tax-base, but it is also important to encourage the movement of individuals that will be socially invested in the area. The borough is directing its efforts toward safeguarding its most positive attributes (i.e. traditional neighbourhood values). In order to achieve this, families are the impetus to allow this to happen and as a result they are central to the borough's goal of maintaining a favorable social mix.

From among the thirty-one residents interviewed a number of other important characteristics may be derived from the sample. First, the majority of residents reported having at least five rooms (appendix H.7). Most, but not all residents fell under the category of renters at 58% followed by condominium owners and private home-owners at 23% and 19% respectively (appendix H.6). Almost all those interviewed with the exception of six residents have resided in the area for at least 10 years (see figure 1.5 for totals) with 61% having originated from within St. Henri or the City of Montreal (Interview Sample: 2006).

Figure 1.5

Years of Residency in St. Henri

Number of Persons



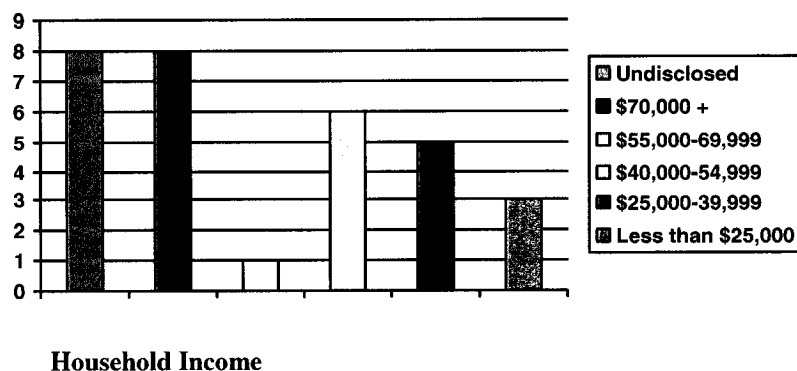
(Interview Sample: 2006)

Within the sample, 58% of residents reported having full-time occupations with only 16% on employment insurance or social assistance (appendix H.4). The remainder, were part-time workers or retired. Despite a diverse range of reported household incomes displayed in figure 1.6, the median range reported from the sample was generally low, ranging between \$25,000 and \$39, 999. However, as with education levels a distinct difference is evident when comparing park and non-park areas (see figures 1.7 and 1.8).

Figure 1.6

Residents' Approximate Household Income

Number of Persons

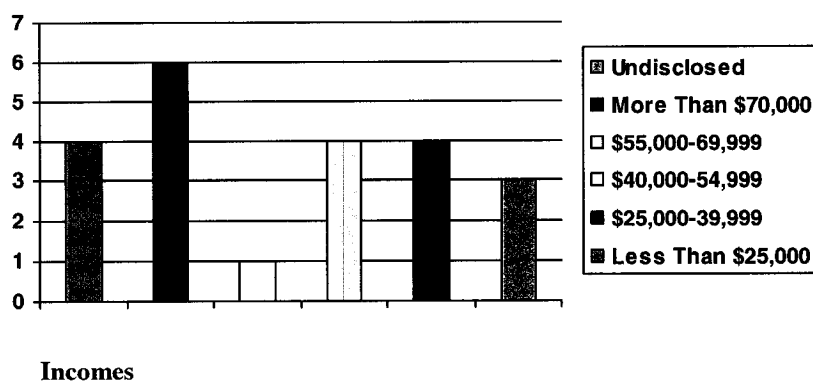


(Interview Sample: 2006)

Within the park areas, 82% of residents report household incomes of \$25,000 or more versus only 56% in non-park areas. Regarding resident occupations there is clearly a

Figure 1.7 **Household Income Levels (Park Areas)**

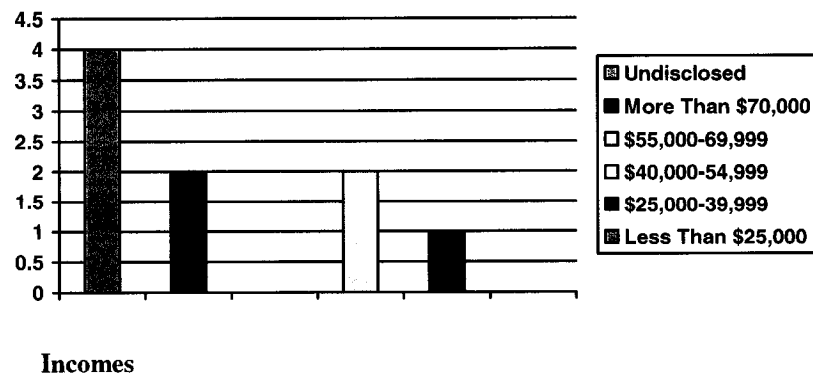
Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 1.8 **Household Income Levels (Non-Park Areas)**

Number of Residents



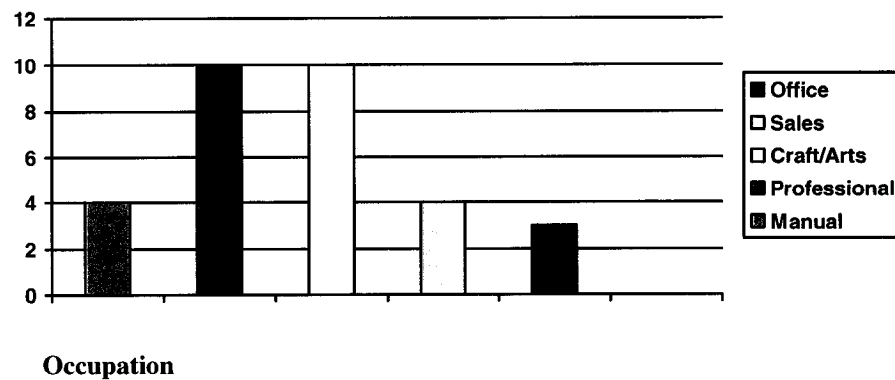
(Interview Sample: 2006)

diverse range of occupations held by the various residents. However, in contrast to the employment profile of St. Henri's industrial past only four interviewees may be categorized as manual, whereas the majority (20) stem from the professional and arts

category followed by sales and office work (see figure 1.9 & appendix H.14). Once again when broken down into park and non-park areas one finds as seen in figures 2.0 and 2.1 that the difference lies in the greater proportion of professional and art related occupations found in the park areas.

Figure 1.9 **Residents' Occupational Categories**

Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 2.0 **Residents' Occupation Categories (Park Areas)**

Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 2.1 Residents' Occupation Categories (Non-Park Areas)

Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

The following resident's comment is just one among many which referred to a growing shift in the economic class-structure now found within St. Henri and especially within the two major park areas:

"The most dramatic change is the condos-The enormous increase in condos and the enormous increase in the renovation of houses-the gentrification of houses. I see a completely different group of people than I saw originally. I see people with expensive cars. I see people running around with very expensive dogs..."
(P. Wilson 25-08-06)

In the proceeding section additional sentiments such as the one above, will be explored further in an effort to better comprehend and appreciate the perceptions held and shared by numerous longstanding residents in St. Henri.

3.22 Resident Perceptions of St. Henri and Development (Past)

Upon arrival, the general perceptions of St. Henri held by most respondents (appendix H.17) included a predominantly Catholic francophone majority and anglophone minority with less diversity than today. The area was essentially working class with clear income disparities defined by a concentration of high incomes in

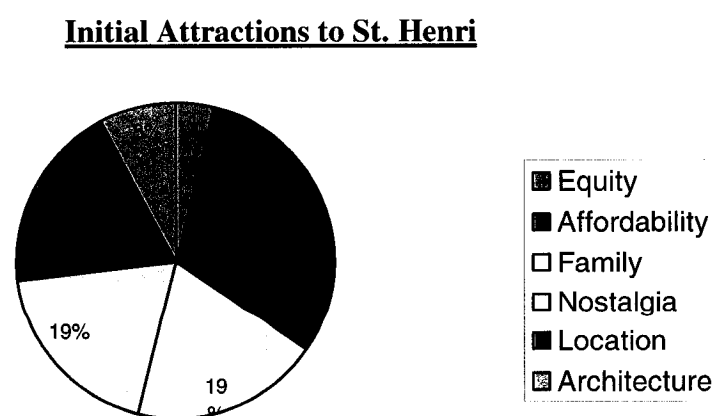
particular areas. Prior to 2002 St. Henri was home to what has generally been described as a reticent population, which included numerous single-parent families and many elderly households with few children. Moreover the beginnings of an early arrival of liberal arts professionals, was also witnessed by several residents well before 2002. This trend seems to correspond to the suggestions in the literature (see Zukin, 1982; Ley, 1996, 2003; Podmore, 1998), which view artists as the pioneers or catalysts in the early stages gentrification. Some local residents made a clear reference to these early arrivals in their description of the changes taking place in St. Henri, they state:

[Translation by author from French] "...there were many artists in St. Henri-in visual arts, which was an interesting aspect for me." (F. Maltais 03-08-06)

"There's still a few you know working class families here though not as many. Now it's far fewer than there use to be. Now there's a lot more young families and sort of students that have graduated, become professionals and settled here. It's leaning a lot more that way, not just artists and professors that live in the neighbourhood anymore." (L. Montin 07-08-06)

When residents were asked about their initial attractions to St. Henri, the response with the greatest frequency was affordability at 31%. However as illustrated in figure 2.2, family, nostalgia and location were also relatively strong factors at 19% each. Upon

Figure 2.2



(Interview Sample: 2006-Based on 26 of 31 Sample Residents Offering a Response)

arrival however, the characteristics of St. Henri with the greatest value for the sample group, were location and its rich social mix (see figure 2.3). The importance of these two factors was expressed by the following residents:

“It was close to downtown. You’re basically downtown without having the congestion that you have downtown.” (M. Duval 23-08-06)

“What attracted me was the cheap rent and central location. It is close to downtown.” (K. Kloppenburg 09-08-06)

“The fact of the location. That we have this really incredible nice house/apartment with a little garden and I was two blocks from the metro, a five minute walk from the Atwater market and a five minute walk from Westmount Square-so for me it was more for location. And the fact that I’m downtown and I’m in a residential area, I don’t have the problems that say if I lived further up...” (J. Kovacs 08-08-06)

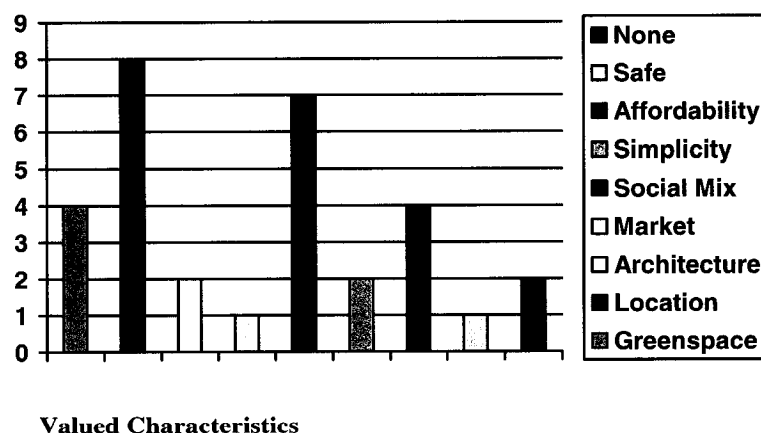
“It was relatively close to downtown. At the time I worked at night and it was great because I could walk a half hour to work and a half hour home from work.” (J. Runeckles 28-08-06)

“The people. We moved into the area because of the people.” (S. Bene 28-08-06)

“It’s sort of a small town atmosphere and a very interesting mix of what we may call the ‘old timers’ who were born here, worked here, brought up their families here of which there is still a few, and the new wave of comers. So there’s kind of a happy mix and I thought that was quite charming. If I go shopping and come home, it’s like coming to my little town. It’s a close community in a sense.” (G. Brooke 31-07-06)

Figure 2.3 **Most Valued Characteristics (Arrival)**

Number of Respondents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

The least valued characteristics were those related to security issues and a lacking commercial sector (see figure 2.4), which is evident in the following comments made by

residents:

"I had trouble with my tenants, so I decided to come and live in one of my apartments to keep a closer eye on the five others...It was really rough because you know young people they were breaking things, like the door in the front-they took it apart-we had lots of trouble." (R. Martineau 17-07-06)

[Translation by author from French] "I remember that just here in the park, the statue was thrown to the ground and taken away by the municipality. The fountain was abandoned for a long time and not functioning...We had more criminal activity than today. We had more violence. You had to be more attentive." (F. Morin 01-08-06)

"Probably twenty-four years ago it was much renowned for the brothers Dubois, which was a family that thrived on crime. And I remember that people were worried for me." (C-M. Bouchard 07-08-06)

"It was a little more rough around the edges than it is now- Definitely more dangerous especially in this precise area. There was a lot of kids-teenage age that were around here an awful lot causing trouble and such. It has cleared up in the last five to six years. There isn't half as much as there use to be." (M. Duval 23-08-06)

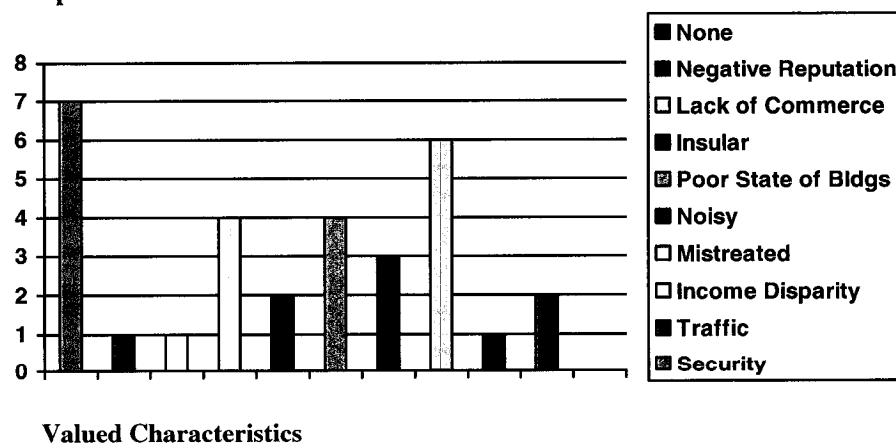
[Translation by author from French] "The area has become more beautiful-one of the best in Montreal. I enjoy what has been done such as the tree-lined bike path, new restaurants, the CLSC, etc. It's more interesting not just boring commerce or closures as in the past." (F. Morin 01-08-06)

"I guess what I liked least was that the shopping was very poor, except for the Atwater market which is kind of yuppy and pricy for me. But there was a grocery store between here and the St. Henri metro, two minutes walk, but I wouldn't go there because it was very poor quality goods" (L. Montin 07-08-06)

"The area has changed most noticeably on Notre-Dame. Half of the commerce was boarded up. There was the odd gambling bar, pool hall and greasy spoon, but no boutiques, nothing pretty, no cute little shops. Everything was boarded up." (J. Runeckles 28-08-06)

Figure 2.4 **Least Valued Characteristics (Arrival)**

Number of Respondents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

The above comments and overall sample findings therefore, seem to indicate a rather close relationship to much of the available literature concerning the attracting factors which draw people to urban areas such as St. Henri (Ley, 1981, 1986, 1996; Allen, 1980; Tallon and Bromley, 2004).

3.23 Resident Perceptions of St. Henri and Development (Present)

Currently, the district continues to maintain a majority francophone population however with a growing anglophone minority. There also appears to be more religious and cultural diversity including more visible minorities. The following statement and several others (see appendix I) similarly illustrate the growing diversity in St. Henri:

[Translation by author from French] "There has been some ethnic change. It's the same base, but older residents are dying, while others are leaving. There are more visible minorities from India and elsewhere and some Blacks and Latin Americans. However, it's still a francophone majority." (C. Segues 24-08-06)

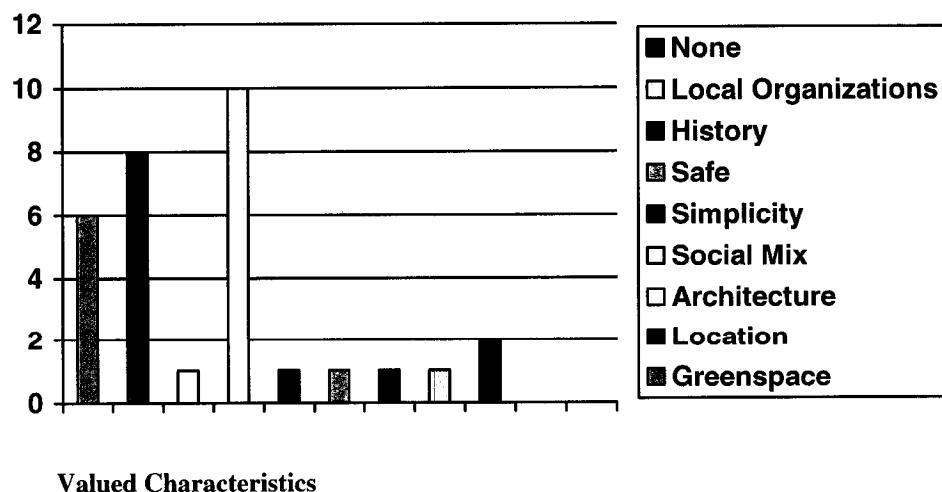
However as mentioned earlier, this is not a characteristic that is equitably distributed in all areas of St. Henri. There are still perceptions of St. Henri as an area of poverty with a limited social mix, but this is slowly changing as more high income earners with higher levels of formal education move into the area. Adding to the shift, are more families, professionals and artists. Finally although there is still a considerable number of longstanding residents this is declining as they are replaced by new arrivals. It is important to note that for most of the longstanding residents, affordability is no longer a valued characteristic (see figure 2.5), which may serve as a caveat to generalizations concerning displacement and its role in their decline. However, the decline may also suggest that the claim of the Chicago School, which views gentrification as 'replacement' rather than 'displacement' may be fitting in the context of St. Henri.

In addition to the above, views regarding safety in St. Henri are also shifting as there is less concern over security, thus allowing the study to further problematize the external perception versus the lived experience of residents. The views most residents had of their relationship with neighbours were generally positive upon their arrival at 74% with only 13% reporting a relationship that was problematic (appendix H.11). However, the picture brightens further when asked of their current views as 71% report positive interactions and 29% basic or indifferent feelings (appendix H.12). Although the positive perceptions have dropped a few points, what is more important is the absence of perceptions which claim problematic relationships. In an analysis of park areas and non-park areas, park area residents indicated a greater satisfaction with neighbours at 95% versus 67% for non-park residents (appendix H.16).

Currently, the most valued characteristic of St. Henri as demonstrated in figure 2.5 appears to be a rich social mix followed by its locational and greenspace attributes.

Figure 2.5 **Most Valued Characteristics (Current)**

Number of Respondents

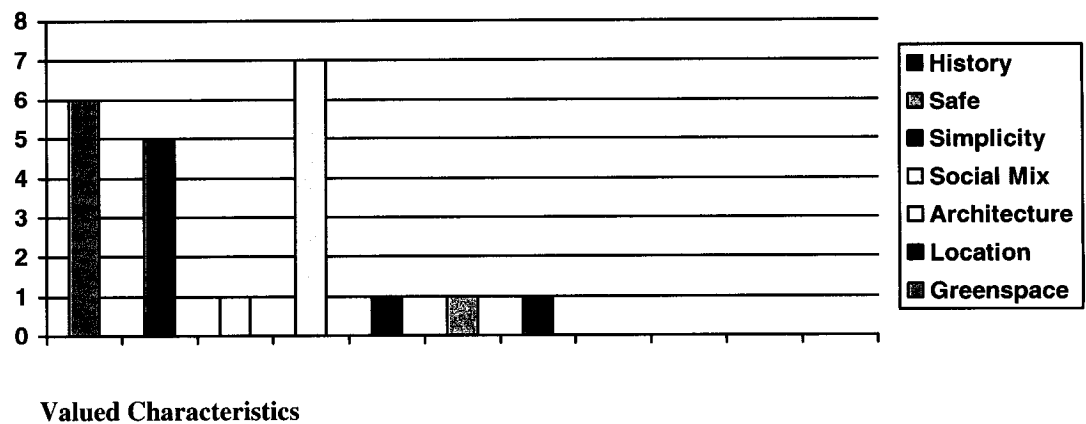


(Interview Sample: 2006)

The importance of a social mix was a sentiment paralleled by the Southwest borough's mayoral attaché Daniel Bélanger, who views the attribute as the most important in St. Henri. It is again possible through figures 2.6 and 2.7 to compare park and non-park areas with regard to the most valued characteristics for the residents of St. Henri.

Figure 2.6 **Most Valued Characteristics (Park Areas)**

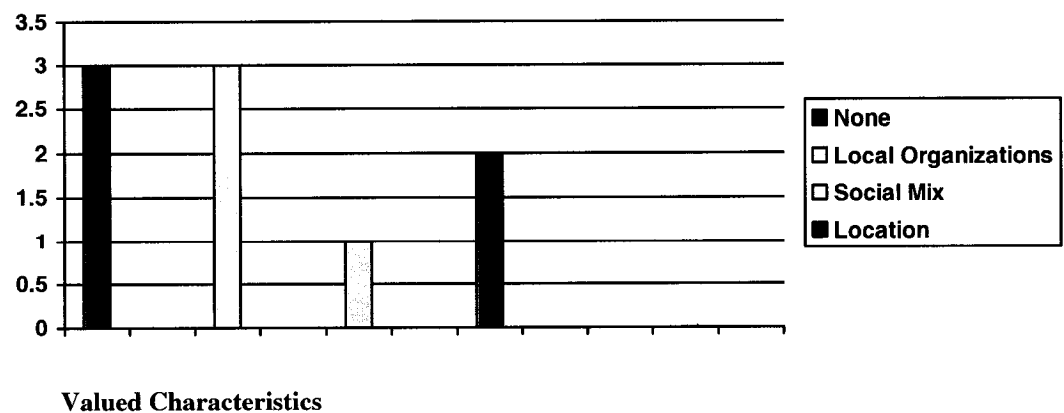
Number of Respondents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 2.7 **Most Valued Characteristics (Non-Park Areas)**

Number of Respondents



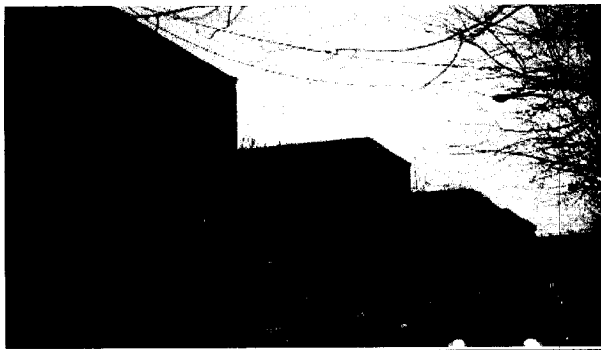
(Interview Sample: 2006)

Those within the park areas place the greatest value on social mix, greenspace and location which is very similar to the general findings for the sample. In this respect non-park area residents do not seem to deviate much either, as they too identify more readily with the social mix and locational attributes of St. Henri. The high priority for social mixing by residents in and out of the park areas shows potential for enhancing and harnessing the entrepreneurial capital and social networks of diverse groups for the broad interests of St. Henri residents.

(i) *How is Development viewed by Local Residents?*

Most residents have expressed much satisfaction as it pertains to an augmented effort to refurbish homes and revitalize the district. Regarding investment activity within the sample, figure 2.8 demonstrates that this generally involves one of two extremes. Either properties have seen very little renovation or they have been fully renovated. As mentioned, most renovations have and continue to take place in or proximate to the park areas thus accenting the divisions and unequal distribution of revitalization in St. Henri.

Image 1.0

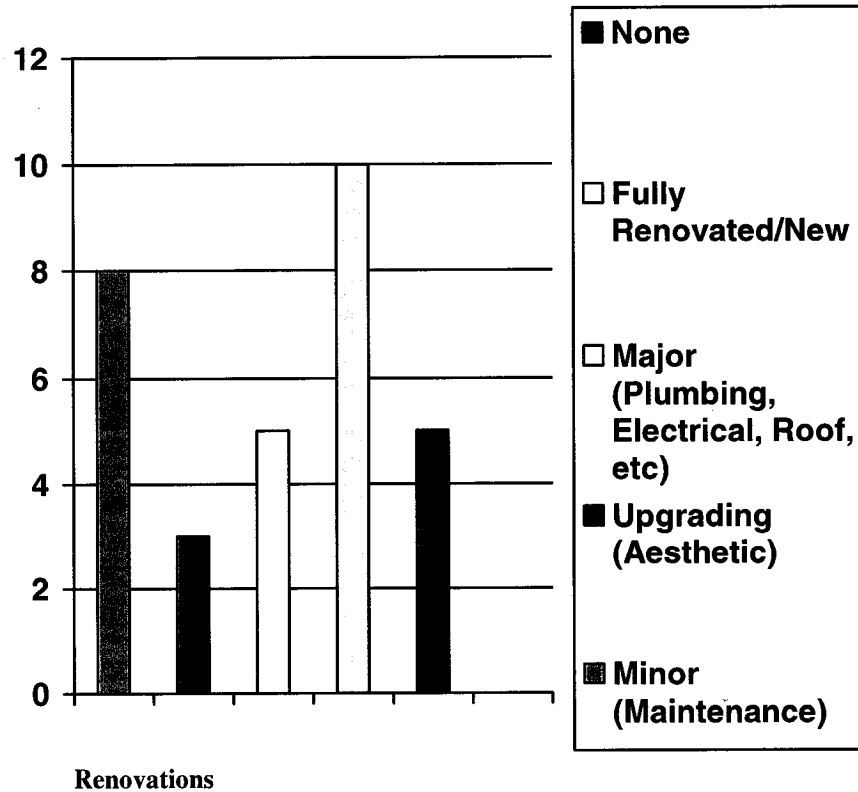


Many homes have seen little or no renovation activity. Photograph taken by author.

Figure 2.8

Property Renovations (Sample)

Number of Residents



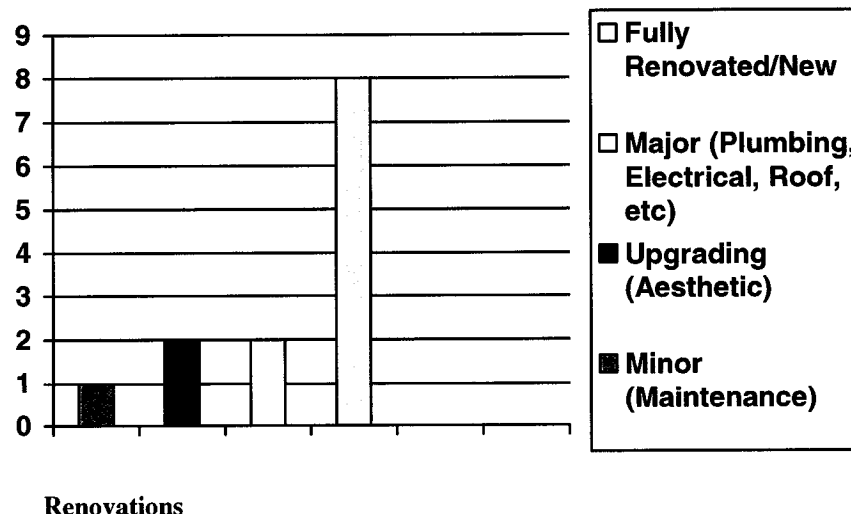
(Interview Sample: 2006)

When renovations by resident owners are considered separately as in figure 2.9, it is clear that the majority of changes were full renovations or new constructions. The absence of the 'none' category for resident property owners points to the fact that ownership correlates strongly with property renovations in this sample. Regardless of whether they are resident owners or renters (some of which have assumed improvement costs to their units), both seem to have much social and/or economic investment in their district.

Figure 2.9

Property Renovations by Resident Owners (Sample)

Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

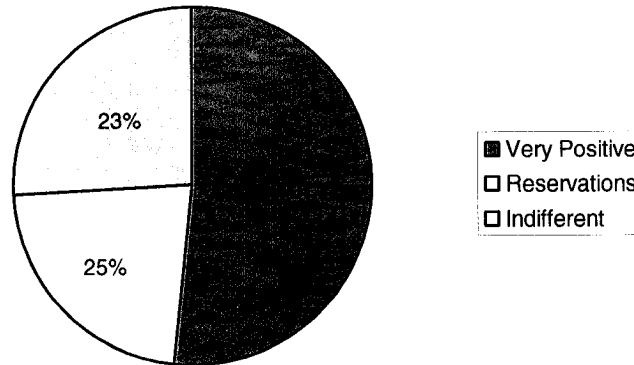
Most are generally intent on remaining in St. Henri (appendix H.13). Moreover, the importance of establishing a sense of pride in where people live is paramount. This is evident in the views of the following resident, which also convey the geography of much of the recent investment:

[What I liked least] "People throwing garbage all over the streets. Like this street over here Delisle. The people are terrible. They throw their kids diapers right onto the street...I don't mind it when people kind of-if they want to be messy inside their houses that's different, but some kind of pride in what it looks like outside...it really depends on where. It generally tends to be where there's the HLMs and things like that. People tend to have less pride. You tend to have more garbage...and the places where people really take care of their houses they tend to have more pride like on Agnès...what happens is the neighbours look at each other. They tend to discipline each other." (P. Wilson 25-08-06)

Finally it is important to note residents' perceptions of their relationship with the Lachine Canal (see figure 3.0). This is essential in light of the developments that occurred subsequent to its reopening and how (as mentioned) they are often perceived as part of the gentrification of St. Henri. Fifty-two percent of the sample reported a very positive relationship. Only 25% of the sample pointed to reservations regarding the Canal's

Figure 3.0

**Residents' Relationship with and Perception of
the Lachine Canal**



(Interview Sample: 2006)

redevelopment and its implication for residents in the area. What is important to note is that no negative sentiments expressing adamant opposition to the Canal were recorded. Several residents happily expressed their satisfaction with the redevelopment of the Lachine Canal:

[Translation by author from French] "The Canal has helped to improve the level of services because of the improved riverfront. There are more promoters and commercial activity and it has helped improve the image of St. Henri. The ambiance has changed." (Anonymous-C 9-8-06)

"The Lachine Canal has a cycling path that is very interesting and that I have been using for fifteen years. It has been cleaned up and it's more pleasant than it use to be." (S. Dupre 10-08-06)

"I have a great relationship with the Lachine Canal. I ride my bike there almost every week-end. I ride right out to the Parc René-Lévesques in Lachine...I use it all the time if I'm going to China Town, the Old Port, I walk on it, I ride it on my bike, I've also used the electric boat..." (M. Duval 23-08-06)

"I love the Lachine Canal. Even before I moved to St. Henri I had always gone there. I'm interested in the Lachine Canal I've just spent so much time there...It's a real historic place and it's full of life...I walk along and look at it." (P. Wilson 25-08-06)

[Translation by author from French] "I skate often along the Canal I adore the Canal it is truly a privilege to live near the Canal...I think the Canal has improved the area. I'm certain that some new commerce like bakeries and organic produce will begin to locate in the area...at the moment there's not much and one must go outside St. Henri...I think there will be an equilibrium achieved in the products and prices offered to all." (F. Maltais 03-08-06)

According to the borough Mayor's office the impact of the Canal has been considered "totally positive" (Interview: January 12, 2007). There is significant growth in the access to aquatic activities, increased tourism, an increased number of cyclists and more shops and restaurants which have been spurred by the Canal's development. The Mayor's attaché has commented that the development bordering the Canal has progressed so significantly, that it is difficult to find any empty space along the waterfront (Interview: January 12, 2007). Moreover, the Mayor's office has remarked on a less spectacular yet distinctive sign of area revitalization, which has been pleasing to the borough's administration namely, the physical developments which have occurred in almost all of St. Henri's peripheral areas. This has been sparked by the financial resources of renovating property owners to the east, north, south and west of the district (Interview: January 12, 2007). Thus, what seems to be implied by these comments and the general findings is that the benefits resulting from the Canal developments and the ongoing revitalization efforts occurring in St. Henri, are activities that are valued by many residents and which many hope to see generalized in all areas of the district.

Image 1.1



An upscale neighbourhood on Georges-Etienne Cartier Street. Photograph taken by author.

Overall, the data and residents' responses generated from the various interviews therefore, indicate that most residents view the many changes since the reopening of the Lachine Canal as positive (Interview Sample: 2006-appendix H.18). The increased number and pace of renovations, decreased crime, growing diversity, commercial development and more young families are all seen as beneficial to the area.

Despite the positive impressions of most residents, there is still some genuine concern among some residents and local organizations with regards to the implications of such change. A primary concern expressed within the sample is the impact of change on the basic cost of living. This includes rising rents and the general costs of goods and services within the local area and their contribution to the overall growth in disparity among residents (appendix H.18). Some of the comments made by residents in respect to these concerns include:

[Translation by author from French] "It's [St. Henri] affordable, but it's becoming less and less true" (A. Dumaine 24-07-06)

"I think what it [the Canal] did for St. Henri was that it brought the average cost of living up. Even the Atwater market when you compare it to the Jean-Talon market we probably have the most expensive outdoor market...It's made living in St. Henri much more expensive than it use to be" (Anonymous-B 8-8-06)

"The big change has happened since about 1998. Before 1998 we didn't have all those condos on St. Ambroise and people paid very little rent...What's happening now is since the condos have moved in people are renovating like crazy all these buildings and they're selling them for a lot of money. So the poor people are being pushed out of St. Henri." (Wilson 25-8-06)

The final comment clearly echoes the findings of Moore and Skaburskis (2004) as well as a CMHC study by Chisholm (2003), which point to a growth in the proportion of Canadian household expenditures directed toward housing costs among low-income earners. Borough mayoral attaché Daniel Bélanger has expressed similar concerns in light of the fact that the Southwest borough maintains the highest number of social housing units in the country and as such is already an area sensitive to any affordability issues

among its population (Interview: January 12, 2007). However, although affordability issues remain the focus of much skepticism with regard to the benefits of revitalization activities such as those occurring in St. Henri, the validity of these concerns as it applies to the district will be discussed in the proceeding section.

In addition to these economic issues, some residents also expressed concern over the accelerated pace of condominium construction as well as the individualistic ideals held by new-comers, which have tended to weaken the area's sense of community. The following statements are a testament of these concerns:

"The last elderly couple to move out of the building next door was when it was bought about five years ago and the owner lives on the Plateau and he's renovating it and moving his friends in and it wasn't a comfortable place for these people anymore. They didn't feel they belonged there. It was really really sad. They left just two months ago and they were in tears on the sidewalk. I mean, they lived there all their lives, they raised the kids there and they were going, but they really didn't want to." (L. Brooke 07-08-06)

[Translation by author from French] "There's another social class arriving that has no interaction with the people of St. Henri. They have no respect, I find. They purchase sixplexes together to get rid of longstanding resident families. I have not had personal contact with the displaced, but from time to time I hear rumors. The rental costs have increased greatly." (F. Maltais 03-08-06)

Finally, much of the new development in St. Henri has also spurred concern over issues regarding safety, resulting from increased crime associated with some new arrivals and new wealth in the area. Examples of this are expressed in the following excerpts:

"There's so many gangs in the area if you're on the water's edge it's tricky [Even where the condos are?] It's the same gangs. It's just a question of time before they get that area...." (R. Darbyson 09-08-06)

"There's a lot of break and entry-petty crime...I hate to say it but when the community is poorly served crime goes up." (S. Bene 28-08-06)

[Translation by author from French] "... I have seen drugs and prostitution within the coops. There isn't much renovation going on in this area. There have been a few transformations to cottages. There is also more of a wealthier class related to gentrification, but this is more in the newer areas." (Anonymous D-06-09-06)

"Something that has changed is a halfway house coming in the neighbourhood. It wasn't so much those in the house because they were supervised and or medicated, but it changed the visitors and there was a bit of a crime spree for a while. There was a fairly active drug scene and the police started to patrol. It had a big impact especially in the morning when you'd bring your dog to the park and find people sleeping in the park or bathing in the fountain." (Maloukis 27-7-06)

"Unbelievable. Most of your neighbours you don't know ... You didn't have pimps at every street corner [in the past]. You didn't have people selling crack everywhere getting little thirteen year olds hooked on crack and prostituting them... We had bad guys here, but up to a point... So many people are afraid to go out at night now and this pisses me off because I use to walk down the street at any time. It never bothered me in the least." (Darbyson 9-8-06)

"I was attacked in the metro and I got health problems [at the St. Henri Metro] they damaged my vertebrae and I have sciatica in both legs and I'm starting to get it in my left arm... They attacked a woman the same night... I'm lucky to be alive" (Wilson 25-8-06)

[Translation by the author from French] "There have recently been twenty-six aggressive acts in one and a half months at the St. Henri metro" (Schmidt 3-8-06)

These comments demonstrate that despite many of the physical improvements which have occurred in St. Henri, the inequitable distribution of neighbourhood revitalization and its concentration in select locations have left several areas without the positive attributes that are often associated with gentrification activity. Instead what has been highlighted is Atkinson's (2004) claim that gentrification may lead to among many things, community resentment and conflict. This is most likely the explanation for much of what has been expressed by residents, in light of the fact that the majority of comments were referring to areas which are blighted and continue to be neglected and unaffected by the benefits of development. As opposed to the positive socioeconomic changes associated with gentrification, these neglected areas have instead experienced a concentration of unwanted criminal activity. Thus, it is important to recognize that revitalization must involve inclusive policies which lead to a more universal standard for community development, which is often lacking simply through localized gentrification initiatives.

As the area has grown in popularity, residents are also increasingly aware of the impact of growth not only on the level of security, but the level of serenity enjoyed within St. Henri as well. With an influx of new residents particularly along the Canal and the growing attraction to some of the area's other environmental attributes, several

residents have commented on the disruptions that have taken place in their neighbourhood such as increased traffic, speeding and intrusive filming activity that have interfered with the tranquil park ambiance that so many residents cherish, particularly along St. Henri and Georges-Etienne Cartier parks. The following comments were expressed by residents:

[Translation by the author from French] "There has been an incredible change in the area as a result of the condos rather than the Canal. They have had a great impact on the life of the area. There are many large dogs running unleashed. They also did not foresee the need for more parking to accommodate the condo developments. They usually have at least 1 or 2 cars and they park along other streets. I don't know if I can say the number of cars has doubled, but they drive through the park area at high speeds. The density of traffic on Notre-Dame has increased with speeding through red lights without stopping. They are very aggressive toward pedestrians. These are the main reasons I will be leaving." (Maltais 3-8-06)

"Traffic on St. Antoine can be intense. There's a lot of accidents that happen right on the corner of Laporte and St. Antoine streets...people treat it like the autobahn...It upsets me because this is my neighbourhood. Our kids don't have backyards to play in so they play in alleys. We keep them clean. They're playing in the park. You know they're crossing streets. Even if they're looking both ways somebody's speeding down the street they still may not make it. There's not enough police presence as far as that is concerned." (Runeckles 28-8-06)

"There's been a lot of filming here and that disrupts the neighbourhood. They try to be very nice about it, but they're actually quite disruptive." (Maloukis 27-7-06)

"There's a lot of filming done here a lot of filming that has caused problems for parking for residents. They have permits. The people that work in cinema have permits and they [the residents] are not allowed to park on their own street etc and there have been a lot of complaints from a lot of people..." (Dupre 10-8-06)

The preceding comments by residents clearly demonstrate some of the concerns and anticipated results of gentrification activity expressed within the available literature (Filion, 1991; Bourne, 1993; Atkinson, 2004) and as a result of these parallels, they are primary issues related to gentrification that must be remediated.

Speaking on behalf of the borough mayor, Daniel Bélanger explains that upon their arrival new residents along with the projects built to accommodate them were met with a state of opposition by community groups. However, he describes this as an act of vigilance and notes that the administration is in support of advocates who express concern over the impacts changes will have on the availability of: quality affordable

housing, community services, community values and development which is respectful of all local residents (Interview: January 12, 2007). Mr. Bélanger adds that these are central concerns for the original longstanding residents of St. Henri, especially for those who don't always have access to them. However, Mr. Bélanger also emphasizes that the added taxes generated by incoming residents allows all residents to share in the benefits of improved services (Interview: January 12, 2007).

(ii) Views on Displacement

In lieu of the above list of concerns one of the most persistent themes that is typically associated with definitions of gentrifications and regularly focused on by the media, as well as being a concern voiced by some residents, is displacement. The following statements express concern over displacement and its potential impact in an area such as St. Henri:

"...There's no more place to live. The people that are living here have to move out. Most of these places you're talking about a thousand dollars a month rent. That's mind boggling to even think of paying that kind of rent. You can't do it. It can't be done. Ninety percent of the people I knew in this area had to leave because of it- my personal friends. There's a place on St. Marie street here that's really a shit-hole the guy was suppose to have redone it. He's charging eleven hundred a month for the place. It use to be \$250. It's not possible for somebody on a low income." (R. Darbyson 09-08-06)

"It's really the Canal. Around 2000 it really started developing, redeveloping. Personally, we haven't noticed a whole lot of immediate change. It's sort of insidious there's a lot of condo development and it's still ongoing. There are people that are involved in buying older buildings renovating, reselling, dividing them up into condos...This has been causing a number of people to get upset. I know of a fellow who had a six and a half for \$450 who lived there for ten or fifteen years and he had to leave. I know cases on Walker that are in the same process..." (S. Bene 28-08-06)

As seen earlier, however, most residents within the study sample enjoy a relatively high level of square-footage. Surprisingly most residents also enjoy moderate rental costs. Moreover, a comparison of sample findings and census data for both 1996 and 2001 suggests that displacement may not necessarily be an inevitable outcome of the revitalization activity occurring in St. Henri (see appendix H.33).

First the sample shows that the average rent for residents is between \$500 and \$749 per month (Note: many residences are in close proximity to parks and have particular architectural attributes). This compares closely with the reported census data of \$492 in 1996 and \$531 in 2001. It may be tempting to view the rise in rents as indicative of the changes taking place in St. Henri. However the number of cases of households allocating more than 30% of their gross income on housing (i.e. the maximum established by the CMHC as being within the range of affordability), has decreased from 2760 in 1996 to 2225 in 2001 (appendix H.34). Although it is possible to attribute this finding to the growing occupational or income shift occurring in St. Henri, it would still be difficult to insist that there is overwhelming displacement taking place (as expressed by some residents) in light of the fact that the rental costs reported by the 2001 census are only slightly above the current median range minimum reported by residents within the sample. It may be the case that most of the increases in rental costs are concentrated in the aesthetically rich park areas or are due to new developments along the Canal, which were built on formerly vacant or unused land or properties, thus, making it difficult to assess the actual effects of recent trends on the availability of affordable housing.

Finally, it is important to note that the overwhelming majority of housing units within St. Henri have been rentals and not home-ownership. Rentals numbered 5, 730 out of 6, 645 total units in 2001 and 5, 555 out of 6, 410 total units in 1996 (see appendix H.35), thus accounting for 86% of all units in 2001 and 87% in 1996 (appendix H.35). Although there has been a shift of 1% within a five year period, it may be considered negligible in light of the fact that the number of additional rental units continued to

outpace home-ownership by 175 to 60, despite translating into an absolute rise of 3% in rentals versus 7% for owner-occupied units (see appendix H.35).

In terms of the responses from the residents, actual accounts of the occurrence of displacement were limited, and some expressed the view that they thought that those who have left may have left for other reasons:

[Translation by author from French] "Some neighbours have left, but for family and better life not because of rising costs." (S. Tibault 11-08-06)

"There are social tensions regarding gentrification. I must say it seems more like people from the outside that are claiming that people are forced to move because gentrification is happening, but it's mostly social action groups...I feel sorry because the older neighbourhoods are being taken over by richer people, but I have a feeling that the people that move are not necessarily the poorest." (C-M. Bouchard 07-08-06)

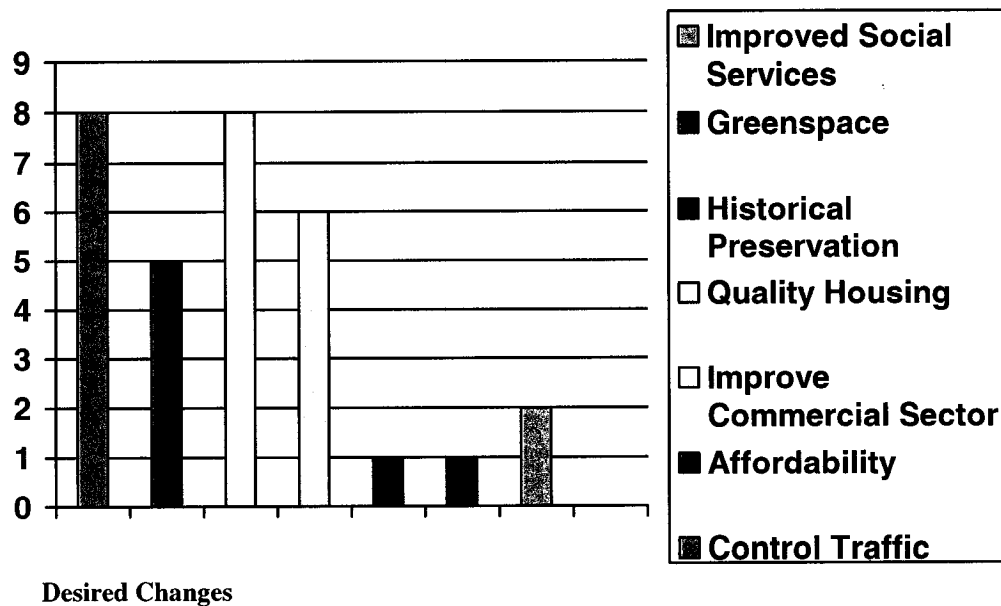
The above comments and findings on the possible incidence of displacement as a result of gentrification in St. Henri, lend some credence to those presented by Freeman (2005), who as discussed earlier has found that evidence of displacement due to gentrification is less definitive than often presented in much of the literature. To reiterate, in this respect Freeman only found a modest relationship between gentrification and displacement, suggesting that neighbourhoods can gentrify without widespread displacement. Others such as Hamnett (2003) have explained that this is possible in light of what he calls replacement rather than displacement, as the size of the working-class population is reduced and replaced by a growing new middle/service-class resulting from the restructuring of the global economy.

(iii) Community Aspirations in Lieu of Development

When asked about any changes they wish to see in St. Henri, the sample residents pointed to more controlled traffic and an improved commercial sector (see figure 3.1). These were followed by quality housing and affordability. When taken separately park areas indicated a greater priority for controlled traffic and secondly for an improved commercial sector (see figures 3.2 & 3.3). It should be noted that greenspace is not a factor in light of the proximity to large parks. Non-park areas prioritized with an improved commercial sector followed by affordability and quality housing. Thus, an

Figure 3.1 **Desired Community Changes Among Residents**

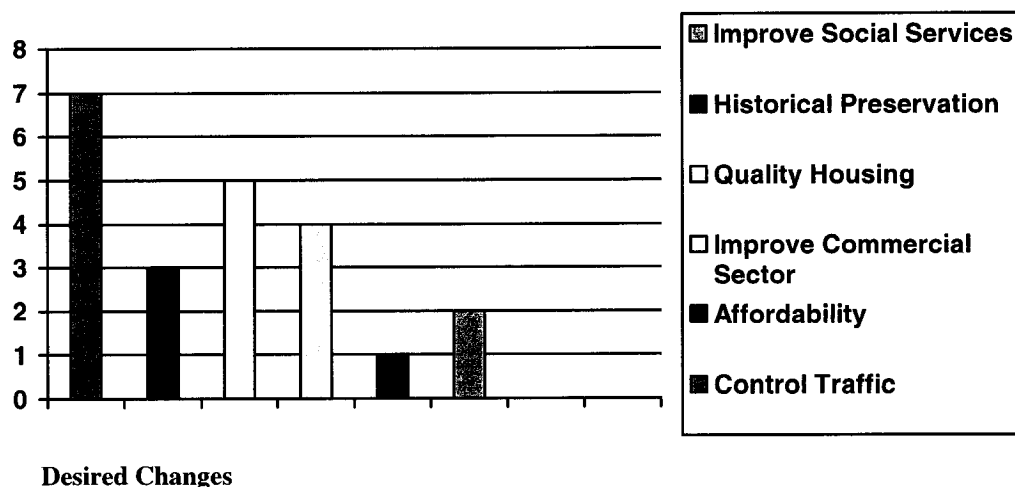
Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 3.2 **Desired Community Changes (Park Areas)**

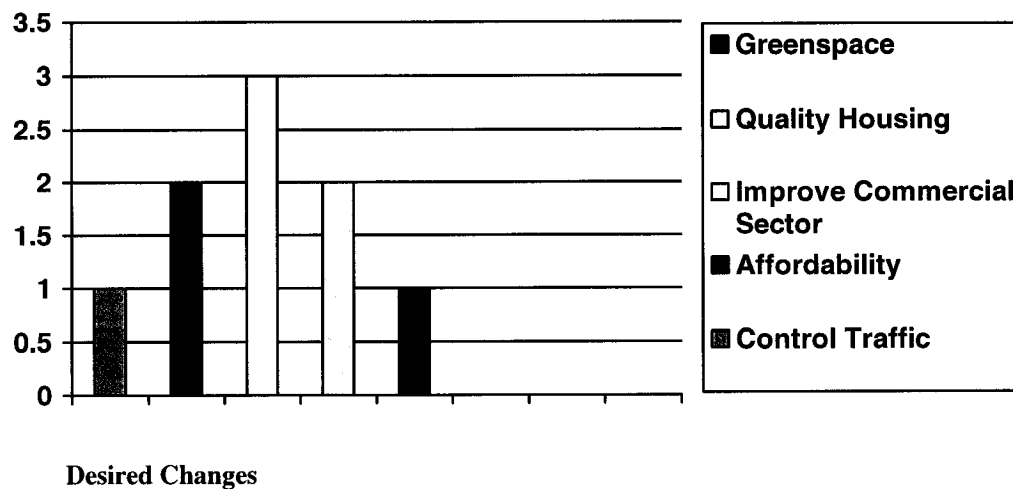
Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 3.3 **Desired Community Changes (Non-Park Areas)**

Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

improved commercial sector appears to be a common priority in both the park and non-park areas. A number of residents confirmed the importance of a more vibrant commercial sector in the following statements:

[Translation by author from French] "... Super C was very important as an addition as well as the SAQ, pharmacy and all the construction with the added commerce around the market. There has been an improvement on the east side, from Atwater to the bridge, but towards the west between the bridge to the library and from Courcelle to Lacasse it gets worse. It is still lacking considerably." (C. Segues 24-08-06)

"As far as the stores changing and the new restaurants, that has improved. In fact I have stopped shopping in other neighbourhoods and now there's much more choice. On the negative side the prices at the market have risen [because of a change in the target clientele]" (C-M. Bouchard 07-08-06)

[Translation by author from French] "I think that the Canal has improved the area because of the tourism that brings in more people along with new and different commerce." (J-P. Roy 31-07-06)

[Translation by author from French] "Yes, because it [Canal] has brought in new commerce. It is mostly positive." (D. Schmidt 03-08-06)

"My only complaint is there's not one good grocery store. They've opened up a Super C, but it's not close...that's one thing I find we're missing is groceries...What other choice do we have? We can go to the market. It's very nice, but it can be expensive." (L. Hilbourne 23-08-06)

"I'd like the little stores to open up on Notre-Dame. There's a lot of store fronts there that are closed and I'd love to see some of the local people start up some of their own little businesses and go there to the yuppies and the this and the that. You know what I mean that's what I'd really like to see happening is more small privately owned businesses...That would help a lot because shopping is a big part of it. You got the big Super C and then there are pockets of empty stores." (M. Duval 23-08-06)

It is interesting to see that improved social services is absent as a desired change in the non-park areas in light of the many community groups that already exist in St. Henri. According to the borough Mayor's office, some of the primary objectives for the district include: preserving its growing social mix (a sentiment expressed by the majority within the sample), improving services to those in most need, preserving community organizations (because they are needed whether they serve to fight poverty or whether they serve as quality of life advocates), integrating new arrivals into the community and establishing programs aimed at facilitating measures to help home owners renovate their properties.

Image 1.2



Retail and residential development (under construction). Photograph taken by author.

3.24 Social Capital and the Potential for Community-Based Revitalization

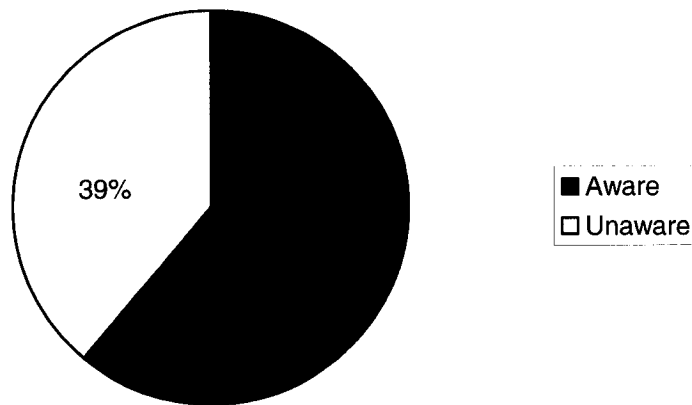
The convergence of established neighbourhood links and the potential of a growing ethnic community discussed earlier, would facilitate the growth and harnessing of much of the social capital mentioned in the literature (Diamond, 2004; Meegan & Mitchell, 2001; Cemlyn et al., 2005; Perdue, 2001) not to mention the fact that it serves as an integral component of any expanded revitalization initiatives. Thus, this is a theme that merits investigation in order to assess the prospects for community involvement to address the concerns highlighted above.

In analyzing social capital, however, figures 3.4 and 3.5 illustrate the difficulty of adequately assessing the area's sense of community. Despite having a majority within the sample (61%) who is familiar with the role of the many community organizations which have taken root in the area, only 29% of the residents questioned reported any personal involvement in these organizations. If the study were to base its conclusions solely on

resident participation in formal organizations, it would not succeed in painting a true picture regarding the level of community involvement among those within the sample.

Figure 3.4

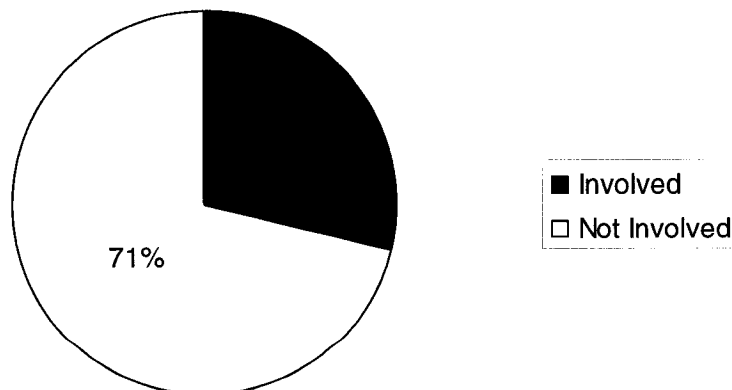
Knowledge of Community Organizations



(Interview Sample: 2006)

Figure 3.5

Involvement in Community Organizations



(Interview Sample: 2006)

When asked about relations with neighbours, almost all residents in both park areas (but particularly the St. Henri park area) expressed a true sense of belonging and positive neighbourly relationships (appendix H.11 & H.12), which in essence is perhaps one of the most valuable resources in St. Henri. As a result, numerous accounts confirming the strength of community ties were presented. The following are but a few of a longer list of comments (see appendix I):

"St. Henri in some ways is like a little village...I know the Tappettas, I know the people that run the pharmacy, I know the guy that runs the post office Sylvain by the park, I know the priest at the church there St. Zotique and of course the people here in this building-a lot of people that are long-time residents of St. Henri." (P. Wilson 25-08-06)

"One thing that stands out is the people. I know that if I needed help in anyway, I could pick up the phone and call 3-4-5 of my neighbours and say I'm stuck...can you come and help me? Can I borrow your car? Yes anybody, I can call anybody. (R. Maloukis 27-07-06)

"Because I live just across from the park this is extremely neighbourly from a park point of view and a dog owner. All of us who own dogs go to the park and so we know our neighbours and so for me, that's a big thing...all the people around the park it's like a mini-village so we all know each other, we all talk to each other, we go in the park..." (Anonymous B- 08-08-06)

"I can rely on them for advice or pointers on you know? Where's the best place to get wood or different services or what kind of paint works well on peeling bricks and stuff like that. Yah it's still a good neighbourhood that way...We are very close in this building and I have been friends with the people in the other building for ten years." (L. Montin 07-08-06)

The park areas are in essence advantaged in the sense that the centrality and beauty of the parks provide a 'social space', which is instrumental in bringing people together. This is a key factor and attribute that arose consistently in discussions with residents about valued neighbourhood characteristics. Numerous residents commented on the importance of the park as a commons for neighbours to meet, socialize and build meaningful ties. In both park areas, but particularly the Parc St. Henri area, many residents established friendships through a common bond, namely their dogs. The parks create an ideal space for walking one's dog and as a result meeting others who engage in the same activity. As many residents are dog owners, they tend to gravitate to the park in what many have termed 'a

dog culture'. The parks have become a focal point for residents to meet and enrich their community bond. As expressed in many interviews, most residents share a high satisfaction with regard to their relationship with neighbours. They rely on one another and often share time together as a community irrespective of whether they are French or English speaking, as a great number of St. Henri residents share another important resource namely; a capacity to function in either official language.

Unfortunately, the advantages of these park areas remain absent in many sections of St. Henri. Residents residing in areas where adequate public spaces are lacking have expressed less positive sentiments with regard to their relationships with neighbours. In non-park areas 67% of residents have expressed positive opinions regarding their relationship with neighbours versus 95% in park areas (see appendix H.16). However, although the number of residents expressing positive sentiments in non-park areas is significantly lower than in the park-areas, it is still a relatively high ratio. This result indicates tremendous potential should non-park area residents be given an environmental context which encourages them to interact and support one another in efforts to establish greater social capital.

Despite these differences between the park and non-park areas, most neighbours frequently call on one another for social interaction and support, which would not simply be evident in their response to a question on community organizations or their involvement in them. Thus, if some of the residents could be considered 'gentrifiers', there is much in terms of community support systems and cohesiveness that could be utilized for the betterment of other St. Henri neighbourhoods that strive to benefit more equitably from the changing fortunes of the district.

CONCLUSION

When compared to the available literature, the data generated by both the St. Henri sample study and Statistics Canada provide some key observations for the area's ongoing development. Prior to generating any conclusions, it is important to reiterate the original intent of this thesis, which was to study a sample of longstanding residents. This was done in an effort to interpret their perceptions of the developmental changes (social and physical) stemming from what has been considered the gentrification of St. Henri. In doing so, the general perceptions among the sample may be used in guiding future planning in the area and in a manner which considers the concerns and aspirations of residents with regard to the spaces they share. Since most studies have tended to focus on the displaced or incoming residents, this ethnographic study provides a view of change by those who have resided in St. Henri prior to and following major developments. As a result this study provides a view of the hopes of the study sample residents for the community they call home.

By adopting a micro-level approach, this study also reveals the micro-geographies of St. Henri and it demonstrates that the neighbourhood can not be assumed to constitute a homogenous community with a uniform experience of gentrification. To begin, the findings indicate a social and economic division within the community. This division is essentially manifested in the stark differences between park areas and non-park areas and in many ways this has influenced the manner in which respective residents view the physical and social changes that have been transforming St. Henri, particularly since the reopening of the Lachine Canal in 2002. With regard to gentrification there seems to be some confusion as to whether or not the condominium developments along the Canal are

considered part of the process. Many residents believe that they are and they view gentrification as not only a physical transformation of homes, but the community at large as well. Rather than dismissing the realized and potential benefits of either process to the social and economic improvement of St. Henri, the focus of attention should be on understanding the views held by all residents with regard to revitalization efforts and thus integrating the more neglected areas into development. The gentrification process as it is generally defined in the literature has essentially occurred in the two park areas discussed in the findings, as these are the areas where homes with large spaces that are close to amenities and which possess particular aesthetic attributes may be found.

It is within the park areas that an almost unanimous positive perception of change occurs. Nevertheless, in addition to the many renovations and growing commercial choices they also appreciate the contributing and integral role of the Canal developments since 2002. In fact when taking the entire sample into account, most residents expressed a positive view of the Canal and the changes it has brought despite the associated criticisms related to displacement. Interestingly most of the more recent residents reside along one of the two parks. This would appear to substantiate Ley's (1986) demand oriented explanation for gentrification, since the factors which seem to have functioned as attractions for many of these new residents, were the environmental amenity and the architectural qualities and historical significance of an area in close proximity to services.

In contrast, most of the negative perceptions regarding gentrification stemmed from areas that have witnessed much neglect over the years and which continue to experience much poverty relative to the park areas benefiting from the various changes. However, even in these areas residents are prompt to emphasize that they are not opposed

to the changes, but rather they wish for the benefits to be spread throughout the community without forcing longstanding residents to relocate due to their inability to afford an augmented cost of living spurred on by market forces. Thus, it is important to realize that it is not change per se that people oppose, but its inequitable distribution. It is therefore imperative that politicians consider how this may be remediated in any future plans for St. Henri.

In light of the distinct micro-geographies that exist within St. Henri, it is questionable whether the changes in the district parallel the characteristics associated with gentrification as it is defined for the purpose of this analysis. Moreover, the aggregated and disaggregated perceptions of residents derived from the sample study, generally do not seem to demonstrate any definitive opposition to development nor a universal acceptance of the various physical and socioeconomic changes, which are attributed to what is commonly referred to as gentrification. What is needed therefore, is more extensive research and a possible comparative analysis to another district in the same policy context.

(i) Enhancing St. Henri's Social Mix

Indeed, some of the specific concerns expressed by residents suggest a number of potential policy avenues. Apart from the general desire for more commercial offerings in the area, the most valued attribute among the sample residents, which government should strive to maintain, is the neighbourhood's socioeconomic mix. At present, St. Henri represents a diverse district, where households are constituted by 'empty nesters', young couples or families in the early stages of growth, and students and mono-parental families

seeking affordable rent in proximity to services. Statistics reveal that women, and aging women in particular, are more of a majority. This confirms some of the findings of the recent literature which has cited the movement of women into the inner-city, some of whom may have been instrumental in the early stages of gentrification activity (Bondi, 1999; Warde, 1991; Karsten, 2003). Whether it stems from the movement of female-led mono-parental families or families whereby women continue to balance career and household responsibilities, the literature points to disproportionately higher numbers of women moving into the inner-city in an effort to reduce traveling time to and from workplaces as well as key services and amenities.

The following quote reflects one resident's concern regarding the capacity of one segment of the female population to remain in St. Henri and it is a sentiment, which is easily related to the disproportional number of women to men found within the sample:

"Make sure that long-time local residents can still live here. I'm not too sure how this would happen, but we need affordable rentals not necessarily big HLM, but you know maybe the city can buy a triplex here a fiveplex there and scattered around, and then I know at least a half a dozen women my age we are all hitting fifty plus...in many cases these women have no pension plan, don't own anything, they rent...we talk a lot about families, but sometimes what we need is affordable housing for singles. Single women, single older persons..." (Anonymous B- 08-08-06)

Thus, this sentiment clearly recognizes the growing number of females and the importance of securing affordable housing for many who are on very fixed incomes.

As mentioned earlier, part of the evolving diversity of St. Henri is also a growing number of immigrants. As explained in the literature review, this trend makes it possible to establish greater social and entrepreneurial networks (Carmon, 1998; Kloosterman and Van der Leun, 1999) and to revive the remaining and greater area of St. Henri where the immigrant population seems to be growing in numbers. Facilitating the integration of immigrants (e.g. through ESL or FSL programs or supporting existing community

organizations) would aid in controlling displacement as well as enriching the social mix within the district.

For St. Henri to retain and enhance its diversity, it is also essential that future development secures a reasonable proportion of housing stock as affordable housing, while also opening opportunities for higher-income residents to add to St. Henri's social mix. This seems to be possible, as both the statistics and sample findings indicate that residents continue to enjoy a high square-footage, moderate costs and the availability of a large share of properties in the rental sector. Moreover, it also appears to be a significant concern for local policymakers. When asked about the main challenges facing St. Henri in the next 5-10 years, the borough mayor's office stressed: the importance of improving housing quality; focusing on those in most need, so that all residents can find their place in the district and remain there; maintaining the area's provisions for social housing (the southwest borough statistically has the highest in Canada); and as mentioned earlier the importance of attracting families with children (Interview: January 12, 2007). This emphasis on attracting families is clearly in step with Karsten's (2003) study of the inadequate provisions for children found in many urban contexts. Families are seen as the key to enhancing the area's school system and child services and activities, building and maintaining a strong sense of community and encouraging the construction of mixed housing forms or condominiums to accommodate a growth in their share of the area's population. Moreover, families are seen as central to the promotion of St. Henri's environmental attributes, which are in close proximity to Montreal's downtown, services and amenities without the city's congestion and associated problems. Thus, a social mix

(which includes families) is the means to a well-balanced, well-serviced community with a viable future.

When asked how the borough and the City of Montreal plan to respond to these challenges, the mayor's office explained that the city council of Montreal would be meeting to consult on methods to attract new and growing families. However, it was also noted that measures such as waving a '*welcome tax*' are not well supported by the city's apparatus. Nevertheless, financial provisions are ready to be invested, but what remains to be seen is how allotments will be identified. Despite some barriers, the borough office is confident that there is growing support for family incentives (Interview: January 12, 2007). Unfortunately, the preceding comments and lack of local autonomy contrast greatly with the findings of Diamond (2004), as well as Meegan and Mitchell (2001) discussed under *Urban Revitalization and Community Involvement*.

(ii) Enhancing St. Henri's Social Capital

Despite Kleinhan's' (2004) citing of British and Dutch policy assumptions that interaction between renters and owners is limited and impeded by 'nimby' attitudes, this does not seem to be the view held by or experienced by the majority of those within the sample. Moreover, the high priority for social mixing by residents in and out of the park areas shows a strong potential for enhancing and harnessing the entrepreneurial capital and social networks of diverse groups for the broad interests of St. Henri residents.

However, at present, there is a clear distinction between the levels of social relations in the park versus the non-park areas. The parks clearly serve as a focal point for residents to meet and enrich their community bond. In order to extend the community

bond found in these areas to other neighbourhoods, residents must be able to share in similarly maintained parks or other public spaces as well as in other basic services, such as: a vibrant commercial sector (which was the primary aspiration expressed by the sample), secure streets, and quality affordable housing regardless of their contribution to the area's tax-base.

Finally, although the majority of residents did not participate in local organizations, the majority were aware of the role of many of the key groups which operate in the community. Some of the many organizations have been initiated in response to the particular needs of the growing ethnic population. Once again, this is a positive indicator in any effort to utilize the social-capital within St. Henri to extend the benefits of change to areas in need of revitalization. These groups need to be encouraged and provided the space and resources with which to operate.

In sum, the opportunities for community-based revitalization in St. Henri are real, but challenges remain. Despite the growing diversity, there is still a considerable number of low-income households within the general make-up of St. Henri. Consequently, policy makers can decide to direct resources to selected segments of St. Henri's population and marginalize others, or they can view diversity and its maintenance as an attribute and goal worth enhancing in an effort to create a dynamic community, which although economically and socially diverse, allows all members to contribute and share in its development.

(iii) Avenues for Future Research

While this study provides insight into some of the potentials and obstacles for change, it represents a preliminary analysis of the experiences and concerns of long-standing residents. One of the primary limitations of this study has been the size and scope of the study sample. The challenge of a *snowballing* approach in soliciting participation for the study remained evident, despite efforts to curtail its effect on perceptions of change in the St. Henri area. The result of using this method, was a somewhat limited interpretation of the developmental events that have occurred in the area (e.g. social, economic, and physical) as they relate to the process of gentrification. What is required to address this challenge is to expand the level of inquiry by ensuring a more socially and geographically diverse group of participants. The central task would therefore include the participation of community leaders or organizations as brokers between researchers and community residents. This would help eliminate some of the skepticism and distrust which detracts many from participating in a study such as this. However, another related challenge is ensuring that those brokered remain diverse in their perspectives and that they are not influenced by the ideological stance of those bringing them into the discussion concerning change and how it is perceived.

In addition to ensuring a more diverse sample, a second avenue for any future study of gentrification in St. Henri is to expand the sample size itself. In achieving greater community participation the results would allow for an even more nuanced analysis of the impressions, experiences and concerns of residents based on: age and gender, marital and/or family status, ethnicity, level of education, occupation, and income levels. Such variables could be easily compared to the census tract profiles for St. Henri to better

determine the consistency and validity of the sample to the general area. Moreover, a more nuanced analysis would improve the possibility of specifying the immediate and long-term requirements for St. Henri residents as development proceeds.

Finally although unavoidable in light of the timing of this study, it is important that any related research concerning gentrification in St. Henri include the most recent statistics. Despite the fact that the 2006 general census was made available prior to the completion of this study, the profiles for Montreal census tracts would not be made available for yet another year. A comparison of profile and sample data will provide a clearer picture of the impact of change in St. Henri and how these impacts compare to the to the various stages of change in the evolution of gentrification throughout the census years.

APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Interview Guide

Name: _____ Address: _____
Postal Code: _____ - _____ Contact: _____

Factual Information

1. Age: _____ yrs
2. Gender: _____ Male _____ Female
3. Place of Birth: _____ Canada _____ Other, *(Please Specify)* _____
4. Marital Status: _____ Single
_____ Married
_____ Common Law
_____ Divorced
_____ Widowed
5. Number of people in household: _____
6. Employment Status: _____ Unemployed
_____ Social Assistance
_____ Full-Time
_____ Part-Time
7. Level of Education: _____ Trade School
_____ Secondary School Diploma
_____ College (CEGEP)
_____ University (certificate, diploma, or degree)
_____ University (post-graduate)
8. Approximate household income: _____ Less than \$25, 000
_____ \$25,000-39,999
_____ \$40,000-54,999
_____ \$55,000-69,000
_____ \$70,000+

9. Type of Residential Tenure: ☐ Rental Unit (☐ Apartment ☐ House)
☐ Social Housing (☐ Apartment ☐ House)
☐ Condominium
☐ Private Home

10. Number of Rooms including a Bathroom: _____

11. Average monthly rental costs: \$ _____

Background Information

1. Number of years of residency in St. Henri: _____ yrs
2. Previous area of residency: _____
3. Type of work: _____
4. Place of work (specify neighbourhood) _____
5. Primary mode of transport: _____

Area-based Information

1. (a) Are you originally from St. Henri?
 - (i) If not, what brought you to this neighbourhood?
 - (ii) If yes, proceed to question (b)
- (b) Describe the neighbourhood prior to 2002.
- (c) What did you value most about the neighbourhood at that time?
(Prompts: amenities, location, cost, social-mix, green space, schools, transportation, architecture, etc)
- (d) What aspects of the neighbourhood did you least like at that time?
- (e) How would you characterize the social composition of the neighbourhood at the time of your arrival? (Prompts: race, income, language, religion)
- (f) How would you describe the nature of your relationship with your neighbours at that time?

2. (a) Have you seen any changes occurring in the neighbourhood during your residency? If so please describe them.
- (b) Have these changes resulted in any major changes in your daily environment, or that of other residents?
- (c) What is your relation to the Lachine Canal?
- * If discussed in a) omit question c)*
- (d) Has the development around the canal improved/worsened the level of services in the neighbourhood? If so in what way?
- (e) Has the atmosphere of the neighbourhood changed in any way?
3. (a) How would you characterize the current social composition of your neighbourhood? (Prompts: race, income, language, religion)
- (b) What is the nature of your current relationship with neighbours?
- (c) Are you involved in any local organizations?
- (d) Can you describe the role of community organizations in your area?
- (e) What do you currently value most about your neighbourhood? (Prompts: amenities, location, costs, social-mix, green space, schools, architecture, etc)
- (f) What type of changes would you like to see in your neighbourhood? (Prompts: social revitalization, quality housing, improved commercial sector, more public spaces, more affordable housing, reduce traffic/pollution, better public transport, increased safety, etc)
- (g) Have you made any renovations to your home? If so, please describe the type and when they were completed.
- (h) Do you intend to remain in the neighbourhood? Why/why not?

Appendix B:

Consent to Participate in the Questionnaire Concerning Revitalization in St. Henri

* By reading the following consent information, you agree to participate in this research.

Purpose: The purpose of this questionnaire is to examine the perceptions of St. Henri residents (living in the area since prior 2002) toward neighbourhood change. This questionnaire is part of a larger research objective which aims to investigate the positive/negative environmental and socio-economic impacts of gentrification. The general goal is to achieve a better understanding of how revitalization may better serve the interests of a broader segment of a local community and its long-term sustainability.

This research is being conducted as part of a Master's Thesis. The research is strictly for academic purposes and not for commercial gain.

Procedure: Participants will be asked to respond to questions pertaining to the survey's purpose through a semi-structured interview. This interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes and will be recorded to increase opportunities for active dialogue.

Risks: Participation in this research does not involve any known risks to participants.

Conditions of Participation:

- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.
- I understand that I am not obligated to answer any questions that may seem intrusive, offensive or inappropriate in any way.
- I understand that my participation in this study is non-confidential and that I am granting permission to be quoted.
- I understand that the data collected from this questionnaire may be published in summary form (i.e. tables and figures) or using a detailed transcription of responses, as part of a master's thesis or in academic journals.

I am consenting to participate in this interview voluntarily. I agree and understand all of the terms stated above.

____ I wish to participate in a confidential manner only and therefore my identity will not be revealed.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Should you at any time have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Dr. Norma Rantisi, Associate Professor, Department of Geography, Planning, and environment, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 extension 2018 or by e-mail at nrantisi@alcor.concordia.ca

Appendix C:

Summary Protocol Form **Student Research with Human Subjects**

Department of Geography, Planning and Environment, Concordia University

1. Title

Understanding Gentrification: and its Implications for a Revitalized St. Henri

2. Relationship to other Research

This research is not part of any broader faculty research project.

3. Persons to be Studied

Potential subjects for this study include all St. Henri residents who have lived in the local area since prior to 2002 (i.e. since the reopening of the Lachine Canal).

4. Method of Participant Recruitment

This study will employ any available public data in an effort to identify a sample of residents that have resided in the community of St. Henri since prior to 2002. Potential interviewees will initially be selected at random. It is expected that this initial sample will refer other potential participants through the interview process. Potential interviewees will be contacted through home visits to explain the objective of the study and to determine whether they will be interested in participating in a questionnaire and arranging an interview time and location. Any information provided by the interviewee, with the exception of the interviewee's identity, could be published in the study unless specifically retracted by the interviewee.

5. Treatment of Participants in the Course of the Research

It is not the intention of this research to be invasive or intrusive. Initial communication with potential interviewees will describe the goal of the research as well as their expected contribution. All participants will be interviewed at their convenience. They will not be required nor persuaded to provide any information that puts them at risk (see Appendix A, which includes sample interview questions). Should the interviewee request confidentiality, the identity of the participant will only be revealed to the researcher and a fictitious substitute name will be used in any publication of results or information.

6. Ethical Concerns

a) Informed Consent

Participants will be asked to sign a consent form. This form will provide each interviewee with a brief description of the research, and all participants will be informed of the academic and non-commercial nature of the study.

b) Freedom to Discontinue

Participants will be informed through the consent form that their participation is purely voluntary and that they may discontinue the interview at any juncture and for any reason without any negative consequences.

c) Confidentiality of Results

The interviews conducted in this research are not confidential, unless the participant specifically requests confidentiality as outlined on the consent form (Appendix B). In all cases, the quotations used in the published report will be subject to the approval of the participant from which they are the source if they so request.

7. Expected Benefits to be Derived from this Research

Through this research, I will document the perceptions of St. Henri residents toward gentrification. Since participants will be selected from among those who have resided in the area since prior to 2002 (the reopening of the Lachine Canal), my research will attempt to examine the environmental and socio-economic impacts of canal-related gentrification and development activity on long-standing residents. This will add to the available literature which has typically only focused on the benefits to gentrifiers and the disadvantages to those which have been displaced. This research will ultimately provide more guidance in any future local revitalization plans that aim for more equitable benefits for all residents and long-term sustainability for communities.

Appendix D:

Introductory Letters (English and French)

June 2006

Dear Madam/Sir,

I am conducting research for a master's thesis entitled, "Understanding Gentrification and its Implications for a Revitalized St. Henri". The purpose of my research is to examine the perceptions of St. Henri residents toward neighbourhood change prior to 2002. The questions I will be using are part of a larger research objective which aims to investigate the positive/negative environmental and socio-economic impacts of gentrification. The general goal is to achieve a greater understanding of how revitalization may better serve the interests of a broader segment of a local community and its long-term sustainability. As indicated this research is being conducted as part of a master's thesis. The research is strictly for academic purposes and not for commercial gain.

In pursuing my research goals, participants will be asked to participate in an interview. This interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes and will be recorded with your permission to increase opportunities for active dialogue. It should be noted that participation in this research does not involve any known risks to participants and they may end the interview at any time.

Your participation is greatly appreciated and would contribute to a better understanding of the effects of current and past revitalization efforts in St. Henri. As a result, the findings will serve to better guide future policy and planning initiatives with universal benefits for district residents. These benefits would not only apply to St. Henri, but in urban areas which share its characteristics.

Sincerely,

Antonino Scozzari
M.P.P.P.A Candidate,
Department of Geography, Planning and Environment
Concordia University
E-mail: anthsco@hotmail.com

Should you at any time have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Dr. Norma Rantisi, Associate Professor, Department of Geography, Planning, and environment, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 extension 2018 or by e-mail at nrantisi@alcor.concordia.ca

Juin 2006

Madame, Monsieur,

J'effectue actuellement des recherches pour ma thèse de maîtrise intitulée, "*Comprendre la gentrification face à la revitalisation du quartier St. Henri*". L'objectif de ma recherche est d'étudier les perceptions des résidents face aux changements du quartier depuis 2002. Les questions que j'utiliserai font partie d'une plus vaste recherche objective qui vise à analyser les aspects positifs et négatifs environnementaux et socio-économiques de *gentrification*. Le but recherché est de comprendre la durabilité de la revitalisation ainsi que la façon dont celle-ci pourrait mieux servir les intérêts d'une plus grande partie de la population locale. L'objectif de cette recherche est purement lié à ma formation et n'a aucune visée lucrative.

Afin d'atteindre mes objectifs les participants devront faire une entrevue. Cette dernière aura une durée approximative de 45 à 60 minutes et sera enregistrée avec votre permission pour obtenir un échange plus animé. Soyez assuré que votre participation à cette recherche n'implique aucun risque et que vous pouvez mettre fin en tout temps à l'entrevue.

Votre participation est hautement appréciée et contribuera à une meilleure compréhension des effets présents et passés de l'effort de revitalisation de St. Henri. Les fruits de ma recherche serviront à mieux gérer les politiques futures et les propositions de planification qui entraîneront bénéfices pour les résidents du quartier. Ces bénéfices ne s'appliqueront pas uniquement à St. Henri mais à toute autre région urbaine ayant les mêmes caractéristiques.

Merci,

Antonino Scozzari
M.P.P.P.A. candidat,
Département de géographie, urbanisme, et environnement
L'Université Concordia
Courriel: anthsco@hotmail.com

Si vous avez des questions, s'il vous plaît n'hésitez pas à rejoindre Dr. Norma Rantisi au département de géographie, urbanisme, et environnement à l'Université Concordia (514) 848-2424 poste 2018 ou par courriel à nrantisi@alcor.concordia.ca

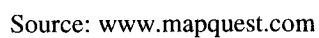
Appendix E:**List of Participants**

Raymond Martineau	969 Agnès	17/07/06	25 yrs
Anonymous (A)		18/07/06	05 yrs
André Dumaine	919 Agnès	24/07/06	14 yrs
Alan Spencer	821 Laporte	25/07/06	07 yrs
Rose Maloukis	817 Laporte	27/07/06	10 yrs
Giselle Brooke	771 Laporte	31/07/06	11 yrs
Jean-Pierre Roy	910 Laporte	31/07/06	43 yrs
Francois Morin	769 Laporte	01/08/06	14 yrs
Dolène Schmitt	769 Laporte	03/08/06	25 yrs
Florence Maltais	340 G.E. Cartier	03/08/06	12 yrs
Lorraine Brooke	3949 St. Antoine	07/08/06	10 yrs
Céline-Marie Bouchard	760 Agnès	07/08/06	24 yrs
Leif Montin	801 Laporte	07/08/06	10 yrs
Anonymous (B)		08/08/06	15 yrs
Julia Kovacs	749 Agnès	08/08/06	14 yrs
Nicole Mawakani	627 Bourassa	08/08/06	09 yrs
Karin Kloppenburg	905 Laporte	09/08/06	25 yrs
Roger Darbyson	5270 Ste-Marie	09/08/06	50 yrs
Anonymous (C)		09/08/06	08 yrs
Sofie Dupré	811 Laporte	10/08/06	15 yrs
Suzan Tibault	330 G.E. Cartier	11/08/06	06 yrs
Jeanine Beaudoin	5035 Côte-St-Paul	22/08/06	74 yrs
Leslie Hilbourne	1043 St. Philippe	23/08/06	08 yrs
Micheline Duval	3913 St. Antoine	23/08/06	11 yrs
Denise Prégent	734 Agnès	23/08/06	73 yrs
Colette Démay	332 G.E. Cartier	24/08/06	10 yrs
Catherine Saguès	4732 Notre-Dame	24/08/06	12 yrs
Paul Wilson	4710 St. Ambroise	25/08/06	13 yrs
Steve Bene	744 Walker	28/08/06	08 yrs
Joanne Runeckles	3923 St. Antoine	28/08/06	12 yrs
Anonymous (D)		06/09/06	11 yrs

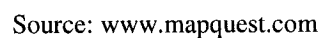
Daniel Bélanger (attaché to Montreal Southwest Borough Mayor: Jacqueline Montpetit)
Interviewed on January 12, 2007 at 815 Bél-Air (St. Henri-Montreal)

Area Maps of St. Henri

St. Henri's Location on the Island of Montreal



St. Henri Focus Map



Map 4:

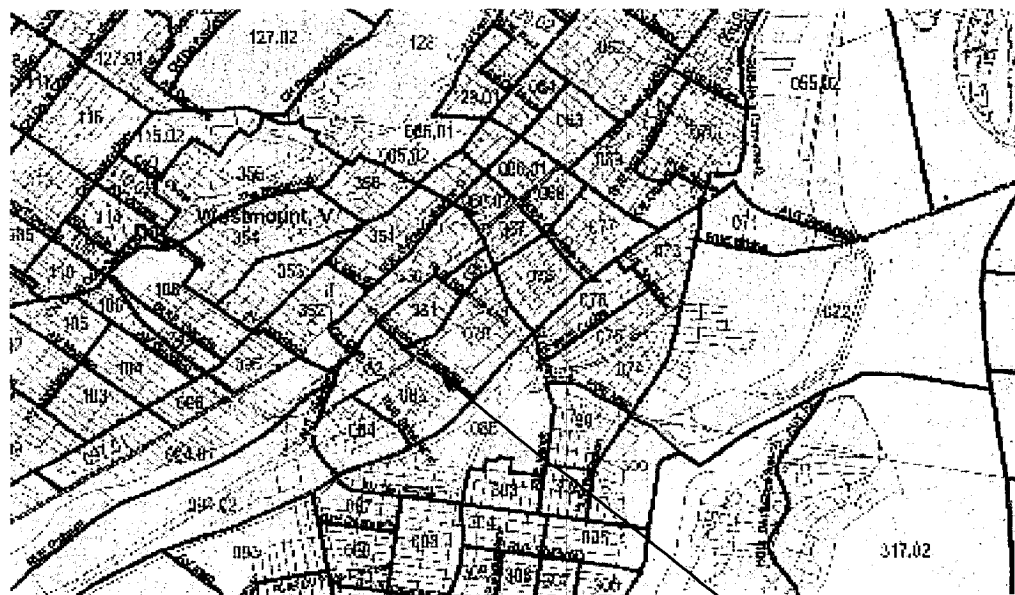
St. Henri (Southwest Borough Map)



Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>

Map 5:

St. Henri Census Tracts 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84



Source: Statistics Canada (2002): 2001 Census

Census Tracts 79-84

Map 6:

St. Henri Census Tracts 79-84



Source: Statistics Canada (2002): 2001 Census

Map 7:

St. Henri (Montreal C.M.A.)



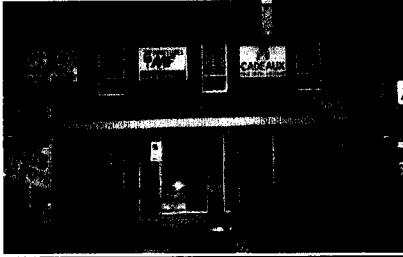
Source: Statistics Canada (2002): 2001 Census

St. Henri's location in the Montreal C.M.A.

Appendix G:

Images of St. Henri

G.1 Indicators of Depression (Neglect, Social Problems, Decay)



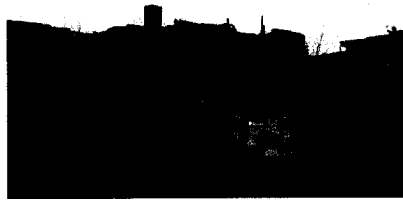
Empty shop along old corridor

Photograph taken by the author



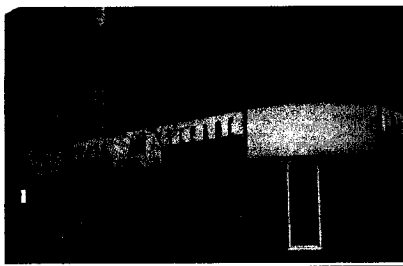
Graffiti

Photograph taken by the author



Neglect

Photograph taken by the author



Empty shop along old corridor

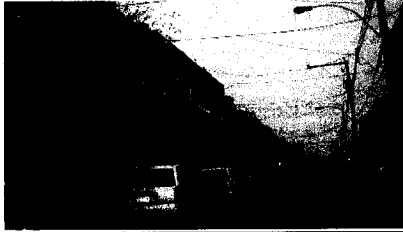
Photograph taken by the author

G.2 Average Streets and Housing



Row and apartment housing (unattended street)

Photograph taken by the author



Average Street

Photograph taken by the author



Average Street

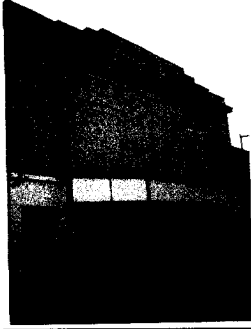
Photograph taken by the author



Row Housing

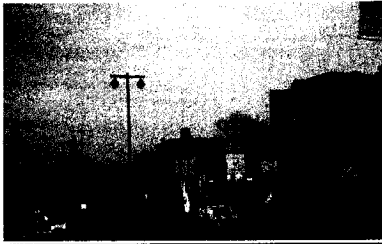
Photograph taken by the author

G.3 Amenities



Old Theatre

Photograph taken by the author



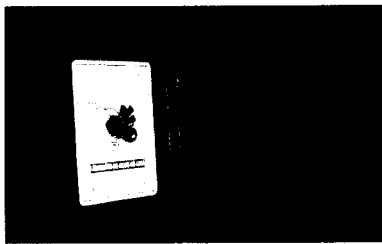
Main artery to Montreal (Atwater Street)

Photograph taken by the author



The Atwater Market

Photograph taken by the author



Public Garden

Photograph taken by the author



Neighbourhood School

Photograph taken by the author



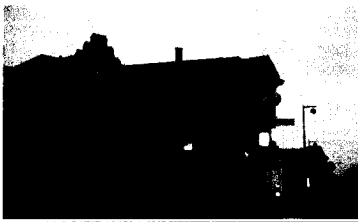
Proximity to Downtown

Photograph taken by the author



Parks and Greenspace

Photograph taken by the author



One of two Metro Stations (Lionel Groulx & St. Henri)

Photograph taken by the author



Proximity to Hospital

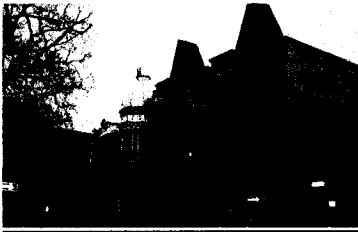
Photograph taken by the author

G.4 Gentrification



Upscale neighbourhood

Photograph taken by the author



Upscale neighbourhood

Photograph taken by the author



Upscale neighbourhood

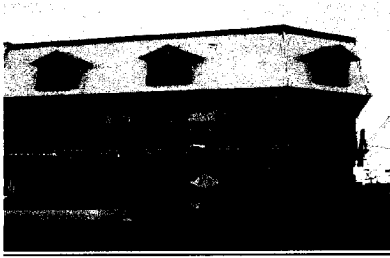
Photograph taken by the author



Upscale neighbourhood

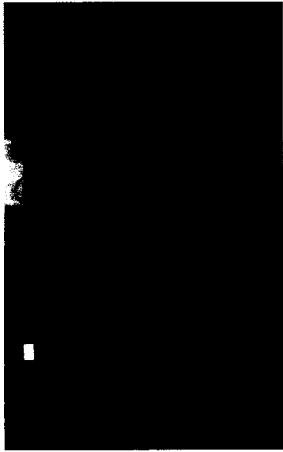
Photograph taken by the author

G.5 Commercial and Residential Investment



Elegant Café

Photograph taken by the author



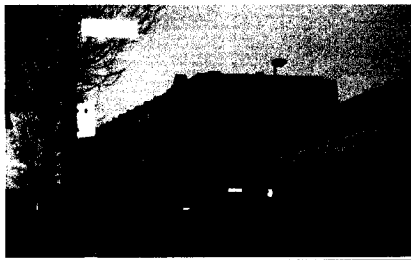
McGill University

Photograph taken by the author



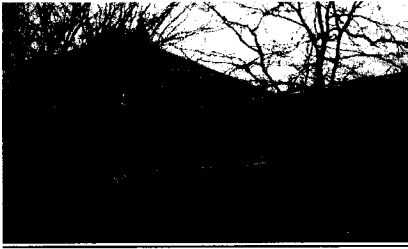
Manufacturing

Photograph taken by the author



Office/Retail Complex

Photograph taken by the author



Antique Specialty

Photograph taken by the author



Media

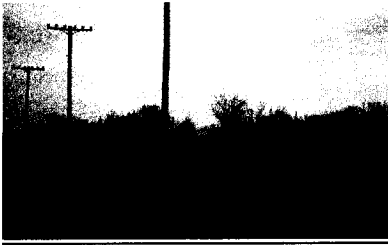
Photograph taken by the author



Hotel

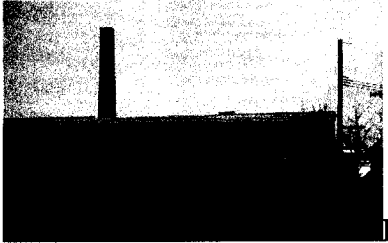
Photograph taken by the author

G.6 Development Along the Lachine Canal



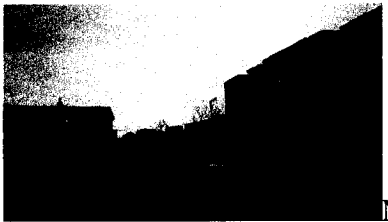
The Lachine Canal

Photograph taken by the author



Loft-condo conversions along the canal

Photograph taken by the author



New condo development near the canal

Photograph taken by the author



New condo development near the canal

Photograph taken by the author

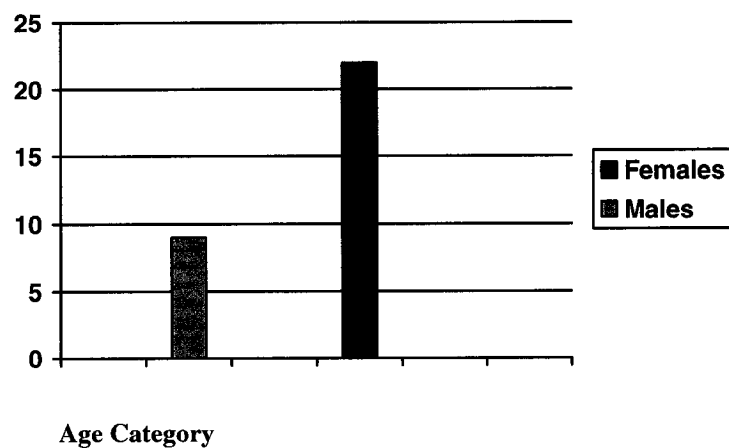
Appendix H:

Tables and Figures

St. Henri District (Census Tracts 79-84) and Resident Sample

H.1 Area Gender Characteristics (Total)

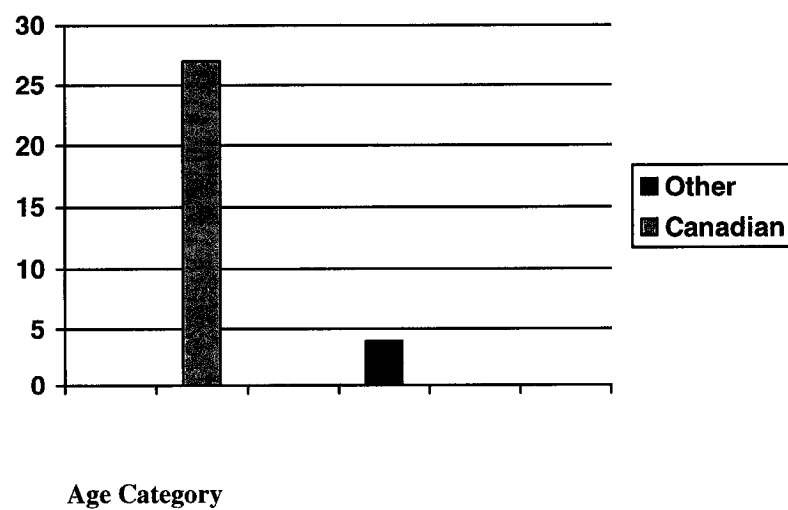
Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.2 Residents' National Origin

Number of Persons

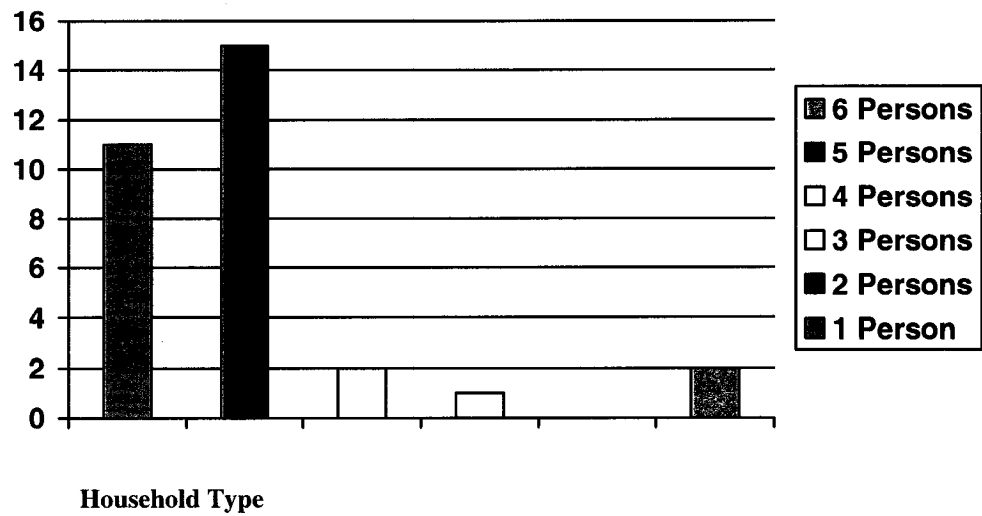


(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.3

Number of People Residing in Each Household

Number of Persons

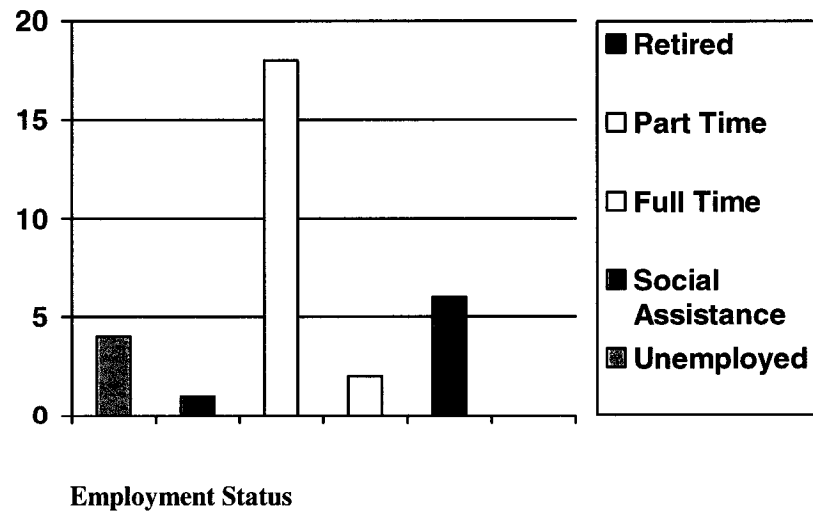


(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.4

Residents' Employment Status

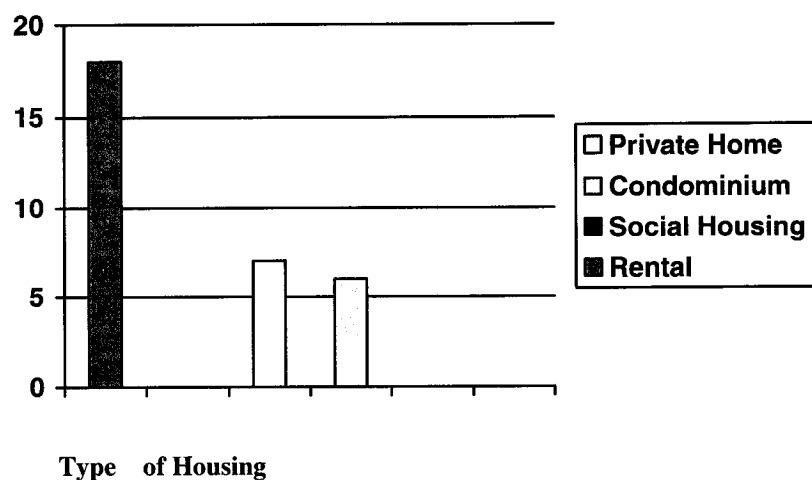
Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.5 Type of Residential Tenure

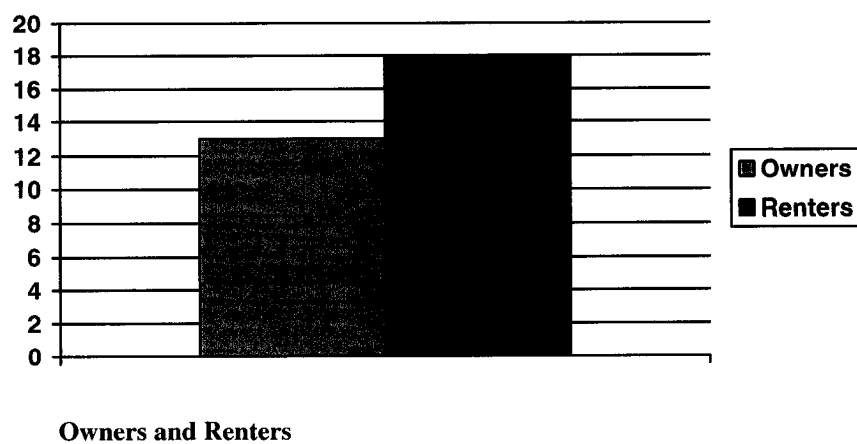
Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.6 Proportion of Property Owners and Renters

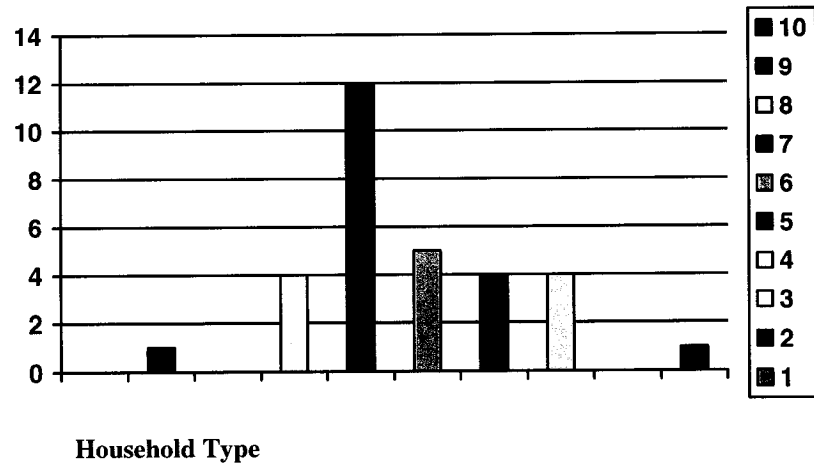
Number of Residents



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.7 Number of Rooms per Household

Number of Rooms



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.8 Average Monthly Rental Costs

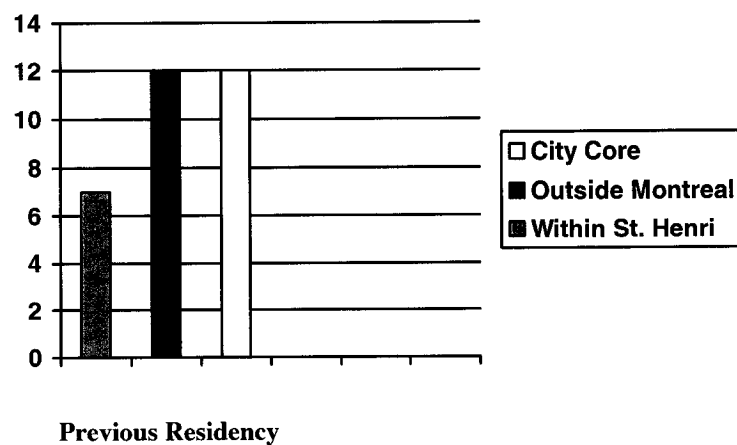
Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.9 Previous Area of Residency

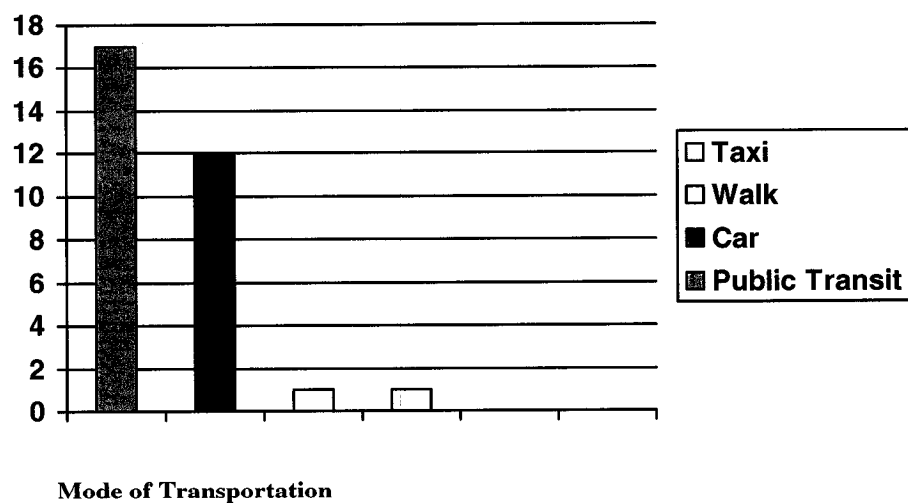
Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.10 Primary Mode of Transportation

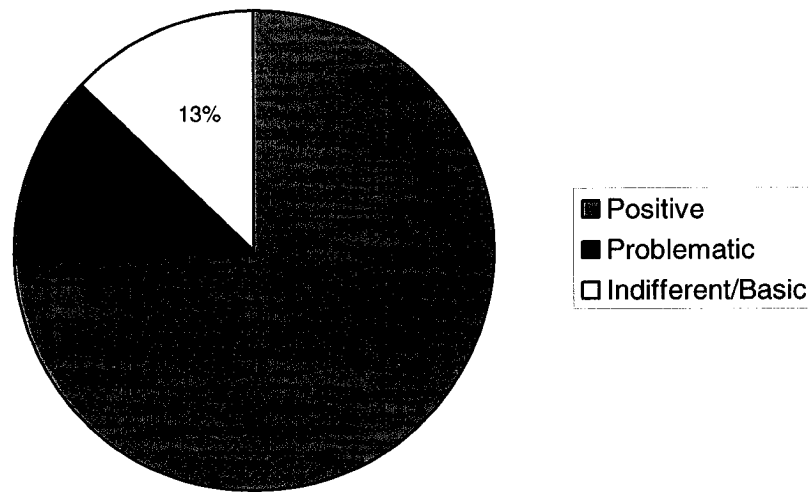
Number of Persons



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.11

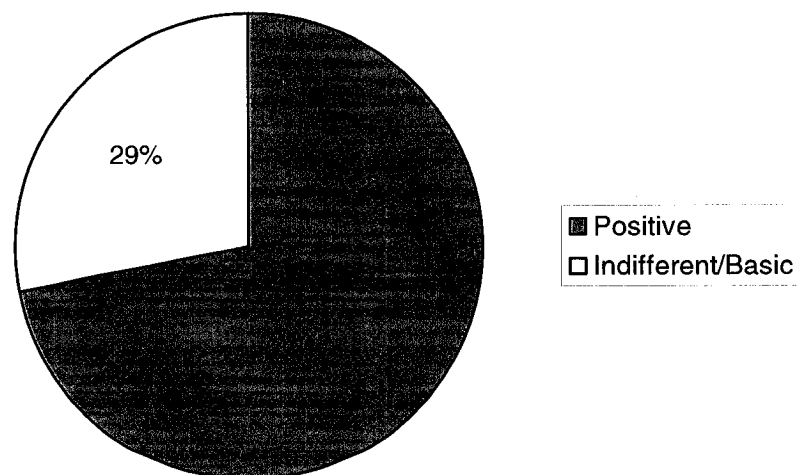
Relationship with Neighbours (Arrival)



(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.12

Relationship with Neighbours (Current)

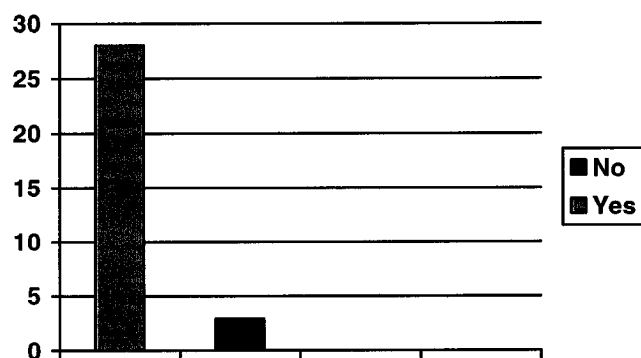


(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.13

Intentions to Remain in St. Henri

Number of Residents



Residents' Intentions

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.14

Specific Types of Employment Among St. Henri Residents

Diamond Setter
 Actor
 Human Rights Investigator
 Renovator/Investor
 Artist (visual)
 Legal Secretary/Translator
 Construction (UE)
 Education Publisher
 Education Publisher
 Artist (visual)/Chess Teacher
 Aboriginal-Environmental Consultant
 Communications
 Writer (Technology)
 Computer Consultant
 Hairdresser
 Computer Analyst
 Web Designer
 Assembly (UE)
 Office Worker
 Freelance Administration (Arts & Entertainment)
 Office Worker (Accounting)
 Textiles (Retailer)
 Waitress
 Sales Analyst (cosmetics industry)
 Cahier/Restaurateur/Retailer
 Fashion Stylist
 Journalist/Web Author
 Artist/Care Giver
 Book Seller
 Seamstress
 Actor/Voice-over

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.15

Principal Descriptions of St. Henri Prior to 2002

- Homes and open areas were in disrepair, mistreated or untended
- Crime was an issue, but it was generally safe
- Construction was limited
- Small town atmosphere-people (especially longstanding residents) new one another
- Almost homogeneous white francophone working class (with English speaking minority and some immigrants)
- Park areas were less bourgeois than pre-closures or today with many professionals
- More industrial and academic activity
- Park was an attractive feature
- Area was more affordable
- Lacking a strong commercial sector (especially along main artery)
- Held a negative reputation in the greater area as being poor and uncompromising

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.16

Sentiments Concerning the Current Relationship with Neighbours

<u>Park Areas</u>		<u>Non-Park Areas</u>	
Positive	21/22 (95%)	Positive	6/9 (67%)
Negative	0/22 (00%)	Negative	0/9 (00%)
Indifferent/Basic	1/22 (05%)	Indifferent/Basic	3/9 (33%)

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.17

Residents' Perception of the Social Composition in St. Henri

<u>Arrival</u>	<u>Current</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Francophone majority with English speaking minority• Not very diverse, few visible minorities• Mostly Catholic• Income disparity among residents• Primarily working class• Numerous single-parent families• Many elderly/few young people• Some liberal arts professionals• Concentrated higher income areas (2)• Reticent population	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Francophone majority with growing English speaking population• More diversity, more visible minorities (more immigrants)• More religious diversity• Still many poor, but more high income earners• More professional class/artists• More young families• Higher levels of formal education• Still a considerable number of longstanding residents, but declining

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.18

Perceived Changes in St. Henri Since 2002

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many people renovating • Less intimidating/less crime • No longer "The slum to the south" • More construction • People are investing money and attention • Area is looking better/cleaner • More diversity/ethnic mix • Old buildings torn down and replaced with infill housing and offices • Change in the type of people coming in • Interesting commerce/less closures • Becoming trendy • More professionals in the area • Reopening of the Lachine Canal and park • More sophisticated/beautiful/upscale • Bread and Breakfasts have opened in area • More young families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising rents forcing out the poor • Increased crime among new immigrants • More construction (condominiums) • Filming in area is causing some disruptions • Imperial Tobacco has closed/loss of jobs • Change in the type of people coming in • More individualistic • Church closure • Large dogs • More speeding and less parking • Becoming trendy • Some social tensions with new immigrants • More upscale and more expensive • Less families are able to afford rising rents • Growing disparity among residents

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.19 Knowledge of Official Languages

Population: 13, 563 (2001), 13, 988 (1996)-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>Statistics</u>		<u>Research Findings</u>
<i>*St. Henri</i>	<i>** Montreal</i>	
French 4960 (37%)	349, 090 (34%)	French (42%)
English 1050 (8%)	96, 950 (9.5%)	English (13%)
Bilingual 7120 (54%)	546, 010 (53.5%)	Bilingual (45%)
Neither 150 (1%)	27, 690 (1%)	Neither (0%)
* Based on population of: 13, 280 (2001)		
**Based on population of: 1, 019, 735 (2001)		

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H. 20 Citizenship

Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

2001	1996	Sample
12, 500 (92%)	12, 945 (92.5%)	27/31 (87%)

H.21 Diversity

Visible Minorities in Population-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
2240	2130
(17%)	(15%)

Findings: 19 of 31(61%) residents made it a point to mention lower level of social mix pre-2002 (Interview sample: 2006)

H.22 Immigrant Population

Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
1970 (14.5%)	1755 (12.5%)

H.23 Income Levels

Household Incomes-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>Research Findings</u>
\$32, 537	\$27, 122	\$25, 000-\$39, 999

(Interview Sample:2006)

H.24 Family and Household Incomes (St. Henri and Greater Montreal)

Statistics Canada, 2002

	St. Henri 2001	Greater-Montreal	Difference
Economic Family	\$39, 300	\$64, 461	39%
Household	\$32, 537	\$53, 725	39%

H.25 Incidence of Low-Income (LICO)

Statistics Canada 2002, 1997

	2001	1996
Economic Families	35 %	48%
Private Households	45%	53%

H.26 Single-parent/Growing Young Families
(based on 11 residents w/ children <19yrs)

Family Unit Composition with Children-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

	<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>Research Findings</u>
Married Common Law	685 (35%) +340 (18%)	800 (36%) +370 (16%)	54.5% (all couples)
Single Parent	920 (47%) * w/ children under 19yrs	1080 (48%) *w/ children under 19 yrs	45.5% *Based on 11/31 w/ children under 19 yrs

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.27 Age Composition (elderly vs. young)

Elderly versus Young-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
<19	2745 (21%)	3300 (24%)
>65	1655 (13%)	1545 (11%)

Findings: 22.0% <19yrs 17.0%>65yrs 61% Other (based on 59 inhabitants)
Avg. Age of Interviewee: 53.6yrs (based on 30/31 respondents)
(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.28 Religious Affiliation

Religion based on Population of 13, 280-Statistics Canada 2002

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number & Percent</u>
Catholic	9220 (69%)
Other Christian	1295 (9%)
Muslim	355 (3%)
Jewish	55 (0.4%)
Buddhist	245 (2%)
Hindu	30 (0.2%)
Sikh	35 (0.3%)
Eastern Religions	20 (0.1%)
Other	75 (0.6%)
None	1925 (15%)

H.29 Working-class vs. Professional-class

White Collar versus Blue Collar-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>Type</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>Research Findings</u>
Professional/Arts	3465 (54%)	2665 (73%)	65% (20/31)
Manual/Other	2960 (46%)	980 (27%)	35% (11/31)

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.30 Employment/Unemployment

Statistics Canada 2002, 1997

	<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
Employment Rate	56%	47%
Unemployment Rate	11%	18%

H.31 Education levels

Comparisons-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>Level</u>	<u>2001 (11, 210)</u>	<u>1996 (11, 385)</u>	<u>Research Findings</u>
1. Trade School	765	275	1 (3%)
2. Elementary	2215	3145	2 (6%)
3. Secondary	3270	3580	8 (26%)
4. College	1510	-	4 (13%)
5. University	2480 (5&6)	2475 (5&6)	12 (39%)
6. Graduate			4 (13%)
7. Some Post-Sec.	985	1905	-

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.32 School Attendance

Statistics Canada 2002, 1997

	<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
Not Attending	980	750
Full-Time	1000	1280
Part-Time	100	115
TOTAL	2080	2145

H.33 Average Gross Rent

Comparisons-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>Research Findings</u>
\$531.00/month	\$492.00/month	\$500.00-\$749.00/month

(Interview Sample: 2006)

H.34 Rent as Percent of Gross Income

Greater or Equal to 30% Gross Income-Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
2225	2760

H.35 Home-Ownership vs. Rental Units

Statistics Canada 2002 & 1997

	<u>2001</u>	<u>1996</u>
Rental Units	5730 (86%) ↑ 3%	5555 (87%)
Home-Ownership	915 (14%) ↑ 7%	855 (13%)
TOTAL	6645 (100%)	6410 (100%)

H.36 Work-Related Public Transit Use

Statistics Canada, 2002

<u>Employed Users</u>	<u>Total Employed</u>	<u>Rate</u>
2690	5980	45%

Appendix I:

Additional Sentiments Expressed by Residents

Initial Attractions

[Translation by author from French] "It is close to the metro and it's easy to go anywhere from St. Henri. At the same time we are not among the large population...It is also very calm." (F. Maltais 03-08-06)

Diversity and Change

"There are more Asian/Indian people-Pakistani/Indian I don't know if they are Muslim...and there have been a lot of little shops opening on Notre-Dame that have Indian clothing, artifacts, etc..." (R. Maloukis 27-07-06)

[Translation by author from French] "...There are more East-Indians and Pakistanis with families and more visible minorities. It's not a social change, but an addition because the old residents are still there..." (C. Demay 24-08-06)

"It's always been a mainly White neighbourhood with some Blacks. I say there are even more Blacks now than when I moved in, cause there's a West-Indian restaurant on the corner. That may be why I'm seeing more Black people now." (L. Montin 07-08-06)

"There's more culture more colour. It's more colourful." (J. Runeckles 28-08-06)

"Now what we see is the people coming in on this street. We have people from five or six different countries speaking half a dozen languages. We have people like computer consultants lawyers, actresses, artists, you know self-employed people. Just a mix of all kinds of people and it's very very interesting...The average income level has increased." (Anonymous B- 08-08-06)

Household-Home Ratio

"A lot of people are leaving the city and my wife and I decided that as a family we wanted to live in the city. We felt that there was a spiritual need for families to come back to the city and witness the love of God to those who do remain in the city" (S. Bene 28-08-06)

"What pleases me is that there are a lot of babies in the neighbourhood now-tons of babies..." (R. Maloukis 27-07-06)

An Augmented Tax-Base?

"The upgrading of the canal has not opened up services, but the condos. I think again anyone who puts two-three hundred thousand into a building that's when your services are going to come. It's these people paying the money that dictate to the government what has to be done, or they'll move out." (A. Spencer 25-07-06)

[Translation by author from French] "The evolution of people near the canal has forced change on the area. The social composition has changed. It's a little more upscale along the canal...Things are moving. If there's improvement I'll participate...There's improved services and more care. People have come from outside to improve the area and it has changed the reputation, but some have had to leave because of rising costs." (S. Tibault 11-08-06)

A New Middle-Class?

"It's better now the class of people that lives here now it's better. It's not upper class, but it's a good class..." (R. Martineau 17-07-06)

"I think there are pockets in St. Henri a mix of high-end and low-end. One thing I can say about St. Henri is you have a middle-class..." (A. Spencer 25-07-06)

"I notice in the Atwater market a huge change and I say it's due to the gentrification of the area. It's crowded and crowded with people that are pretty well off" (Anonymous-A 18-07-06)

"...I think it's changing as people with a certain means (I'm not saying that they're better than the ones who lived here before, but of a certain economic status) are moving down and making renovations and all that. It's being more gentrified obviously." (G. Brooke 31-07-06)

"They don't hang around the same places, so it's very rare that you get to meet these people basically. Not that I'm saying they're all bad. There's a lot of good people, but you never see the good people" (R. Darbyson 09-08-06)

Positive Perceptions of Development

The canal has improved the level of services in the area. There was nothing there. The fact of the condos and people moving in with incomes spawns a lot of the renovations especially along the east end of St. Henri." (L. Brooke: 07-08-06)

"Change is good. People are pumping money into their properties and looking after their properties more. The city is pressed ['they're cleaning right now-that's a cleaning truck'] I think when people put money into their property and paying taxes, they demand more services and when the city realizes that the values here are going up, they tend to put the money into the square. They're listening more now I think...No major changes in my environment. I think most of it has just been positive. I like to see people doing renovations and the neighbour does it and somebody else does it. It's great for the neighbourhood. When property taxes go up it's not great to pay them, but you know that now the services are going to start." (A. Spencer 25-07-06)

"It's [the atmosphere] gotten better in a way it's cleaner it's nicer. It feels good living here. I always felt safe walking around, but I think people have realized that this is a nice neighborhood. They're appreciating it more, so they're willing to take care of it more. I think that makes a difference whether it's building the new condos, getting the new people in I think that may have something to do with it. If people are saying 'well people are moving and they're fixing up the place well then we'll take care of our little part of the city'. That is a good thing because you have pride in your own area. That in turn makes the area a very nice place to be." (J. Kovacs 08-08-06)

"I think it's improved because there are more activities and more people in the area, different people, the new people of St. Henri that are using those services and you get to see a new crowd." (S. Dupre 10-08-06)

"I see an improvement with the small stores the small businesses. I find that's an improvement. There are more small businesses on Notre-Dame. We really didn't have that before. They've been fixing the canal. There's more people actually going through St. Henri, because of the Atwater Market and the canal. People are on their bikes discovering the parks...we have not been bothered by noise [construction], but we see and hear a lot of it...People are moving to improve St. Henri...It seems more vibrant." (J. Runeckles 28-08-06)

Negative Perceptions of Development

[Translation by author from French] "It's difficult to say anything positive. I find the people very close-minded. It's difficult to accept the aridness. It feels as though they're closed off because their level or quality of life is low so they don't trust others...My relationship with neighbours was at first difficult. It was a horrible welcome. They threw eggs and tomatoes at my house, but with time a few came around and now it's okay...It's a little village mentality" (Anonymous C-09-08-06)

Social Capital

"They'll talk to you and be curious to know who you are and who they are and so on. In a year in the summer time I'd be sitting on the porch and people would stop and say hello..." (Anonymous-A 18-07-06)

"I know all the people. I know all the neighbours. I know people on every side of the square. People are walking their dogs. There's no friction. It's incredible. It's a good mix of people...I lived in Montreal-West for twelve to fifteen years and I find the people [here] more open [than in Montreal-West]" (A. Spencer 25-07-06)

"I lived 10 years in a sixplex in Anjou. I didn't make any friends. When I moved here I made friends left, right and centre. I have so many friends and acquaintances in the neighbourhood it's phenomenal. It's not just here in the park...it's a very very friendly area...it's a great little place...We often have little neighbourhood parties for those around the park. It's nice you can count on people. It's like an old fashion community" (R. Maloukis 27-07-06)

"I know all of them by name. I meet with several of them socially-some new neighbours. I'm on speaking terms with some of the old tenants who have been here forty years and more..." (K. Kloppenburg 09-08-06)

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